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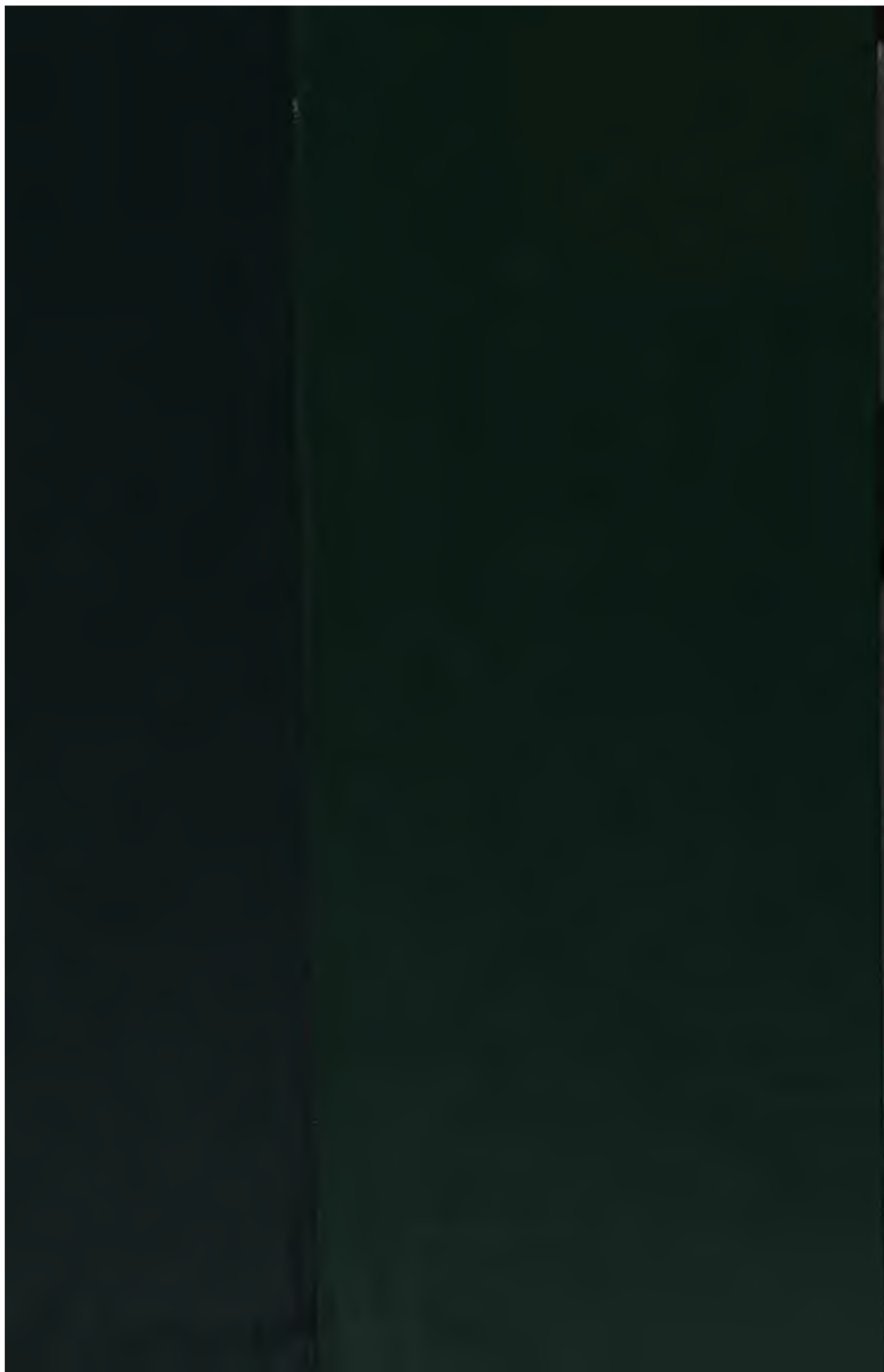
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THE THEOLOGICAL ASPECT OF REFORMED JUDAISM

BY

MAX L. MARGOLIS

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To E.

PREFACE

"I had rather teach one of the fundamental doctrines of our religion than anything else in the world."—(*Maimuni*, Comment. on *Brakot*, end.)

"Let the world know clearly and distinctly what is the substance of Judaism."—(*Isaac M. Wise*, July 5, 1898).

The following paper was written at the invitation of the Executive Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (under the date of October 20, 1903) and read in substance before that body in the city of Detroit, July 1, 1903. It is printed in the *Year Book*, volume XIII (1903), 185-308, and appears here as a separate publication in accordance with a resolution of the Conference (see *Year Book*, 74), with a few minor verbal corrections and two indexes. My thanks are due to my colleagues of the Executive Committee for ordering the separate publication; to my friends, Rabbis ADOLF GUTTMACHER, Ph. D., and WILLIAM ROSENAU, Ph. D., for the care with which they superintended the printing of the paper; to Prof. EDWARD B. CLAPP, of the University of California, and Dr. J. LEON MAGNES, of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O., who read the manuscript, for valuable suggestions; to Rabbi MAX RAISIN, of Stockton, Cal., and to my brother, Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, of Pueblo, Colorado, for assistance in the preparation of the indexes. I am particularly indebted to the friend to whom this volume is inscribed for counsel and inspiration during the preparation of the manuscript for the press.

I have quoted authors of standing even where they merely sum up matter accessible to me at first hand for the reason that I believe that when a thing has once been well presented, new presentations are useless. The proportionately large space given to the biblical sources in the elaboration of the articles of the creed is probably due

to my better knowledge of that branch of Jewish literature, but is at the same time justified by the importance which necessarily attaches to the beginnings of spiritual thoughts. I think that my paper has shown how our religious thought is rooted in the Bible and therefore, in spite of re-formulation, remains largely Scriptural. I am conscious of the shortcomings of my effort which only to a slight degree are attributable to the haste with which the paper was prepared. But then it is not a book that I am sending forth; it is a mere paper, and I am satisfied that it shall be judged as such. It may prove of some, though small, value in the religious evolution in the midst of which we stand and whose issues none can foresee.

In magnis voluisse sat est.

M. L. M.

University of California,
Berkeley, Cal., U. S. A.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- AJTh* American Journal of Theology.
Bernfeld....Bernfeld, רשת אלהים.
Bousset....Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter.
IJG.....Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte,⁴ 1901.
Jost.....Jost, Culturgeschichte der Israeliten der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.
JQR Jewish Quarterly Review.
KAT Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament,³ 1903.
Kaufmann..Kaufmann, Geschichte der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters, 1877.
SchürerSchürer, Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi.³
SmendSmend, Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte.²
UPB.....Union Prayer Book (published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis), 1894 f.
YB Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.
ZAW.....Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.

Reformed Judaism has been presented to the world under a variety of aspects. I. M. JOST, the first historian of the movement, seems to have had an eye mainly for its cultural aspect. His short sketch, with its significant title, *Culturgeschichte der Israeliten der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*,¹ seeks to throw into relief those sides which were indicative of the transformation in mode of life and thought incident to the new culture. It were idle to forget that the reformation had its birth among the circles of the Friends of Culture² and in the Societies for Culture,³ and that it was a movement conditioned by, rather than conditioning, the entrance of the Jew into modern life. On its cultural side, the new Judaism might be characterized as the Judaism of the Citizen⁴ and be contrasted with the Judaism of the Ghetto-Jew.⁵ Culture with DAVID FRIEDLÄNDER, "the faithful disciple and friend of MOSES MENDELSSOHN,"⁶ JOST, ZUNZ, GABRIEL RIESSER, to mention a few of the pioneers, was indeed a firmly rooted and authoritative attitude of mind; with reference to them the cultural aspect is all-inclusive. But with a view to others of our early reformers with whom culture was, I fear, only skin-deep, the æsthetic aspect of the reformation movement has

¹ 1846. ² *Kulturfreunde*. ³ *Kulturvereine*. ⁴ *Staatsbürger*.

⁵ "Both (the *Reform-Genossenschaft* of Berlin as well as the Rabbinical Conference at Frankfort) agree that only by divesting itself of all ceremonies which are purely Oriental and contrary to European habits, or which constitute a hindrance to the performance of civic duties, may Judaism prove and maintain its truth and genuineness in modern times and among the civilized nations, etc." (Jost, 255). The Posen rabbinate consistently refused the proffer of citizenship (כי אין חפץ לישראל להשתקע בגלותו אלא לגור פה). Bernfeld, תולדות הריפורמציון הדתית בישראל, 1900, 65 f.). On the history of the first stages of the movement see Philipson, "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," *JQR.*, 15 (1903), 475 ff.; 16 (1904), 30 ff.

⁶ *Treuer Schüler und Freund Moses Mendelssohns*.

been rightly emphasized. "The spirit dominant in JACOBSON'S private synagogue was rather that of æsthetic refinement than of religious solemnity."⁷ Many of the old ceremonies⁸ have disappeared or been remodeled on the ground of offensiveness to the æsthetic sense.⁹ The geographical aspect, a favorite with some of our journalists, has its merits. The movement originated in Germany and was transplanted to our own country by German Jews.¹⁰ Hence we speak of German, American, Western Judaism on the one hand, of the Judaism of Eastern Europe, England, the Atlantic seaboard on the other. As seen through the glasses of Zionism, our movement, though essentially antithetic to the nationalistic idea, represents a somewhat regrettable, but nevertheless necessary chapter in Jewish history which is to usher in the new synthesis; the latter, however, because still in the process of formation, remains an obscure, enigmatic quantity.¹¹ This, of course, is the national aspect. But is not the Jewish reformation a religious movement? Has it not a theological aspect? Let me but recall to your mind that, in connection with the early liturgical reforms, the dispute turned upon important dogmas to which, it was felt by the traditionalists, the reformers gave a new meaning;¹² that in the Frankfort Conference¹³ a just, though inopportune, demand for a declaration of principles was made by FRANKEL;¹⁴ that it was furthermore the same FRANKEL who counseled the convocation of an Assembly

⁷ Jost, 14.

⁸ *e. g.*, נטילת לולב, תקיעת שופר.

⁹ See *Protocolle d. Rabbiner-Versammlung zu Braunschweig*, 1844, 46.

¹⁰ An account of the movement in America by Dr. Philipson may be found *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 52-99.

¹¹ Bernfeld, in the work referred to. Zionism as the goal of the "Jewish Reformation" in G. Gottheil's paper, *AJTh.*, 6 (1902), 266-284.

¹² "... (the rabbis of Hamburg) having become convinced that the construction put upon several articles of faith, notably the Messianic doctrine, by the *Tempelverein* in its liturgy differed from the current conception, etc." (Jost, 23).

¹³ Third session, July 16, 1845.

¹⁴ See *Protokolle der Rabbiner-Versammlung zu Frankfurt am Main*, 1845, 18 ff., 86 ff.

of Theologians¹⁸ as distinct in scope of power and authority from a mere Conference of Rabbis.¹⁹ You will also recollect the discussions and resolutions concerning the seat of authority which have formed part of the proceedings of the earliest conferences and synods as well as of our own sixth convention at Rochester.²⁰ There has surely been no lack of platforms, some abortive, others the mature fruit of deliberation and destined to live, from the Three Articles of the Frankfort *Reformverein*²¹ to the PITTSBURGH PLATFORM, "the clearest expression of the reform movement that has ever been published to the world."²² It is thus clear, beyond peradventure, that the Jewish reformation has its theological aspect. To emphasize this theological aspect and to place it in the forefront of our movement is the aim of the present paper.²³

¹⁸ *Theologenversammlung*.

¹⁹ *Rabbinerversammlung*. See Jost, 252.

²⁰ *YB.*, 6 (1895), 37 f., 52, 54, 58-63. See also the President's Address, *ibid.*, 7 (1896), 16 f.

²¹ 1843. See Jost, 215.

²² Philipson, *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 83 f. The Pittsburgh conference was held in November, 1885.

²³ For reasons which will become clear as we proceed, the term "theological" has been more or less shunned. Dr. Hirsch's paper presented before the Rochester Conference (*YB.*, 6 (1895), 90-112) bears the title, "The Philosophy of the Reform Movement in American Judaism." Dr. Philipson's "Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism" in the *New World*, 4 (1895), 601-625, contains valuable matter; some of the statements, however, are erroneous; note the writer's horror of a "definite and formulated creed," or of a "confession of faith." Contrast with Gottheil's paper referred to above his own "Syllabus of a Treatise on the Development of Religious Ideas in Judaism since Moses Mendelssohn" in *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions*, 1894, 26-34. I. M. Wise's "Introduction to the Theology of Judaism" in the same volume, 1-25, though open to grave objections on its philological and historical sides, is significant both because of the omission of the qualification "Reformed" in the title and for its insistence upon the necessity of a formulated creed.

I.

What is Theology? and is it a necessary adjunct to any religion?

There was a time—and here and there it may not be over yet—when science and theology were in arms against each other.¹ Of late, however, theology has had to defend itself against an unexpected opponent. We may now perhaps speak of the warfare of religion with theology.² The disrepute into which theology, once queen of sciences, has fallen and which she shares—there is comfort in companionship—with philosophy, or, at least, metaphysical speculation,³ is rightly laid by an English theologian at the door of modern positivism and agnosticism.⁴ The history of religions⁵ and the science of religion⁶ seem to usurp the place and the attention formerly held by systematic theology. There has, indeed, arisen in Protestant Christianity a new theology, the RITSCHLIAN,⁷ which seeks to adjust itself to the intellectual situation of the age by excluding metaphysics, rejecting speculative theism, condemning ecclesiastical dogma, antagonizing religious mysticism and, on its positive side, by laying stress upon the subjective form of religious knowledge,⁸ the personal experience of inward transformation and the historical (as opposed to natural and mystical)

¹ Andrew D. White, *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 1895.

² The following sentence from a famous Church historian's much read work will serve as an index to show what our present situation is: "How often in history has theology been but the means whereby religion was discarded!" (Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*, third lecture).

³ See Prof. Howison's paper on "Philosophy and Science" in the *University* (of California) *Chronicle*, October, 1902, especially p. 130 f.

⁴ Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology*, 2nd edition, 1902, 1 f.

⁵ *Religionsgeschichte*.

⁶ *Religionswissenschaft*.

⁷ For a critical, yet sympathetic estimate see Garvie's work referred to above. The short characterization in the text is derived from it. See also Orr, *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, 2d edition, 1898.

⁸ "Consisting of value-judgments, which express not the nature or cause of the object of knowledge, but its relation to the subject as furthering or hindering his own end."

character of revelation in Christ.⁹ The Ritschlian theology, though now dominant in German universities,¹⁰ has nevertheless met with strenuous opposition not only on the part of orthodox theologians, but also on the part of thinkers who, like PFLEIDERER,¹¹ refuse to shut their eyes to the philosophical blunders of the system as well as to its dangers on the side of religion. The epithet "Theological Agnosticism" applied to the Ritschlian system by an English divine¹² is certainly not inapt.¹³ Moreover, the Ritschlians themselves do not faithfully adhere to their proposition to exclude metaphysical speculation: it slips in unawares.

It is thus, I venture to believe, clear enough that there is a speculative element in theology and that no religion will fail sooner or later to express itself in theological terms.¹⁴ It is furthermore clear that the history and the science of religion, while useful sciences,¹⁵

⁹ "Revelation, according to Herrmann, is the personal experience of inward transformation, and does not consist of the facts and the truths of the Holy Scriptures, which can be rightly understood only after that personal experience; but is God's own presence with and action in a man through the historical Jesus, which inspires and sustains the faith that grasps it."

¹⁰ Men like Herrman, Kaftan, Harnack are its most noted exponents.

¹¹ His *Ritschl'sche Theologie*, 1891, is before me. See also his *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtlicher Grundlage* (I have used the 2d edition), 1883, 513 ff., and his *Development of Theology in Germany and in Great Britain*, 1890, 183 f. It is worthy of note that the indifference, if not hostility, to the Old Testament on the part of the majority of the Ritschlians calls forth Pfeleiderer's remark (*Die Ritschl'sche Theologie*, 34) that they ought squarely and above board to put themselves on the side of Marcion. Exactly in the same sense does President Schechter in his *Inaugural Address* (New York, 1903, 12) speak of the "Marcionism of the nineteenth century type."

¹² Prof. Bruce, *AJTh.*, 1 (1897), 1-15.

¹³ See also Prof. Flint's summary and criticism of the Ritschlian system in his latest book on *Agnosticism*, 1903, 593-596.

¹⁴ "Faith," says Garvie, *loc. cit.*, 103, "cannot remain long in an irreflective stage; it must make its own contents clear to itself, and so sure for itself." He rightly considers it a "never-ending task" which, however, cannot be shirked.

¹⁵ The history of a religion describes its origin, progress, transformation, decay. The various periods are distinguished with studied nicety. The historian's point of view is often a subjective, if not a biased one: noteworthy *Geschichtskonstruktionen* which are not always quite convincing. The science of religion "collects, arranges and compares the facts of man's religious consciousness and history." Here again the personal equation obtrudes itself in the problem of classification, for instance.

are in no wise capable of taking the place of theology. I said that there is a speculative element in theology. Yet theology is not quite identical with the philosophy of religion.¹⁶ The philosophy of religion seeks to justify the facts of man's religious consciousness and to establish their validity and reality, while theology, in my humble judgment, is charged with the more modest task of giving systematic expression to the thoughts imbedded in sacred documents, or underlying religious institutions, or rooted in the consciousness of a religious community. These thoughts, changeful and fluctuating and contingent though they may appear to the historian, the theologian, by dint of philosophical insight and of a peculiar tact¹⁷ which knows how to seize upon the constant and essential and living, seeks to sum up in a definite number of leading principles, called dogmas,¹⁸ which in their totality make up the creed of the Church. The philosophy of religion is justly regarded as a department of philosophy; theology means nothing more, but nothing less than organized religious thought, and stands midway between history, which furnishes its material, and philosophy, from which it borrows its

¹⁶ The latter name seems to be free from the opprobrium which has attached itself to theology; it sounds more pretentious. But the two sciences should be kept distinct.

¹⁷ Pfleiderer, *Development of Theology*, 205.

¹⁸ The horror of dogma has been alluded to. On the opposition to dogma on the part of the Ritschlians, particularly on the part of the well known historian of Christian dogma, Harnack, see Garvie. The dangers of ecclesiastical dogmas, especially when a re-formulation of them is eternally barred, are by no means overlooked by men like Pfleiderer (*Development of Theology*, 347, bottom). On the other hand, Pfleiderer rightly assents to Tulloch's criticism of Matthew Arnold's inimical attitude to dogma. "Arnold's notion of dogma as an excrescence or disease of religion is superficial. Of course religion and dogma are not identical. But the latter is the product of religious thought, or of the thought of the Church upon the facts of religious experience. The creeds of the Church are the fruit of the best possible efforts of theological thinkers of every age, accordingly living expressions of the Christian consciousness, deserving as such more respect than they meet with from the representatives of the modern spirit" (as above, 333).

constructive principle and, perchance, its weapons of defense.¹⁹ The philosopher approaches the subject of religion not necessarily in an unfriendly disposition, but certainly as an outsider; the theologian, on the other hand, speaks with a warm heart and "as one who has authority."²⁰ The theologian must necessarily stand within his Church; for, whatever be his philological attainments or the philosophical discipline of his mind which enable him to reproduce²¹ and to systematize, he must above all be possessed of original religious thought²² which comes to him who is in touch with the living consciousness of an historical religious organization.

¹⁹ On the relation of theology to the philosophy of religion and to philosophy in general I find some good thoughts in Dr. Newton H. Marshall's expanded dissertation, *Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England und ihre erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen*, 1902, 102 ff. But he seems to think that the work of the theologian consists chiefly in the examination, revision and systematization of a given set of articles of faith; hence he identifies theology with philosophy, or at least regards the former as a department of the latter. "The formulation of the original articles of faith is a function wholly unrelated to philosophy; but the theological procedure which consists in their examination and systematization is the same activity of the human mind which is displayed in philosophical speculation." I do not know whether the construction of the early creeds in the Christian Church should not be dignified with the name "theology"; it seems to me that no small amount of actual speculation played a part in the shaping of Christian dogma. With reference, however, to Judaism where the formulation of a systematic creed is almost coincident with its philosophical examination and defense (see below), the definition of theology given in the text and its separation from philosophy will, I believe, commend themselves as logical. The two occupations are very often united in one man; in point of fact, our theologians have, as a rule, been also philosophers; but, nevertheless, it is important to keep the two distinct. Even in the history of Jewish literature, it is very often possible to carry out the distinction in the works of one and the same author: Maimuni's "Guide" is a philosophical, or *religionsphilosophisches* work, while his excursus *Sanhedrin* x. 1 and certainly the greater portion of the *מדרש* are strictly theological in character.

²⁰ "There is a difference," says Prof. Granger, *The Soul of a Christian*, 1900, 17, "between theology and the philosophy of religion. Theology implies that a particular standpoint is taken up in religious matters, whereas the philosophy of religion would seem to view all standpoints in an external manner. The philosophy of religion deals with its subject as related to human experience generally, whereas theology tends to confine itself within the limits laid down by tradition, whether the tradition take the form of certain documents, or certain institutions, or both of these together."

²¹ *nachempfinden*.

²² *religiöse Empfindung*.

II.

In Judaism, I believe, the life of dogma runs in three clearly distinct stages: that of origination, or creation, or, in theological language, revelation, that of formulation and that of re-formulation. The creational stage opens with that mysterious, almost timeless moment when, in the depths of a human soul (which, by Divine selection, becomes the organ of revelation) there is conceived a religious idea which, by virtue of its innate force, will seek embodiment in institutions, in song and prayer and, in due season, in articulate, definite statement, in a formulated dogma. It were idle, I think, even after a religious idea has become fully manifest, to seek to explain its beginnings or its appearance just at this and that moment and in this and that personality; but it is often quite possible to tell the circumstances that brought about the formulation of a dogma or a set of dogmas at a certain period in the history of Judaism. The formulation of a dogma presupposes reflection; reflection is frequently the result of contact with foreign ideas which threaten the very life of, and thus bring to light, the native religious possessions. Again, formulation comes through the conflict of opposing factions within the Church. The perplexed laity will demand from the leaders clear definitions, What is Judaism? While, however, the creative energy by the grace of which religious ideas are conceived is divine, infallible, eternal, the formulation of dogmas is, relatively speaking, human, and, therefore, partakes of the limitations of human endeavor. Hence the necessity for the correction of inadequate formulation, for restatement, for re-formulation.¹

¹ It is not our province to meddle in the dispute between Harnack and his German and English critics with regard to the limits of the development of Christian dogma. See on the one hand Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Engl. trans., I, Prolegomena, and on the other Garvie, 101 ff.; Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, 1901, Lecture I. It all depends upon how dogma is defined; moreover, what applies to Christianity need not hold good of Judaism. I believe that the following pages will justify our account of the history of Jewish dogma in its general aspects as attempted in the text. Re-formulation has its causes, to be sure; but it is not necessarily forced upon theology altogether from without. Marshall, 115, footnote 5: "It is proper that we beware here (with reference to the transformations in theology) of the arbitrary use

Before the rise of the Jewish reformation and the accompanying attempts at ecclesiastical organization,² there is no record—I am aware of the few exceptions—of the formulation and proclamation of important Jewish dogmas on the part of authoritative bodies or councils. Hence, indeed, the erroneous impression that Judaism has no dogmas. Take, for instance, the cardinal dogma of Judaism, that of the Unity of God. Can any one name the Conference by which that doctrine was framed and promulgated? What are then our sources for an ascertainment and enumeration of the dogmas of Judaism? and which are the tests by which a dogma may be recognized as such? I answer on the basis of the studies of LUZZATTO, LEOPOLD LÖW, SCHECHTER,³ as well as of my own humble efforts: First, we have an extensive literature of dogmatic and apologetic theology which, roughly speaking, began in the tenth century and, so far as its influences went, continued down to the eighteenth, the most notable contribution unquestionably being MAIMONI'S Creed (THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES) which, although framed in the silent solitude of a scholar's study, found its way into the Prayer Book

of expressions like 'forcing upon.' One should bear in mind that progress in all fields of thought takes place under similar conditions. The human mind, whether occupied with the problems of natural science or with those of theology, has a conservative as well as a progressive tendency. The movement of thought is not confined to scientific and philosophical specialists, but belongs to general humanity, and, while it is customary to ascribe the initiative in theological transformations to scientific criticism, it should not be forgotten that, whatever transformations take place in theology, they are the work of theologians and not of natural scientists."

² See Dr. Enelow's paper referred to below, p. 123, footnote.

³ S. D. Luzzatto, *Lezioni di teologia dogmatica israelitica*, 1864; Leopold Löw, "Die Grundlehren der Religion Israels," 1858, and "Jüdische Dogmen," 1871, reprinted *Gesammelte Schriften*, I (1889), 31-52, 133-176; S. Schechter, "The Dogmas of Judaism," *JQR.*, I (1889), 48-61, 115-127. See also Felsen-thal, "Gibt es Dogmen im Judenthum?", *YB.*, 8 (1897), 54 ff.

and thus obtained a quasi-official sanction.⁴ Then, as we ascend, we have Midrash, Talmud, Mishna, Targum, Prayer Book, a literature which, far from being theological in the strict sense of the word, yet, in its juridical or homiletical, expository or devotional character, borders on the theological: the theological elements in that literature still await an exhaustive, systematic, strictly historical and thoroughly critical presentation.⁵ It is significant that we meet in

⁴ See the short account on Jewish "Religionsphilosophie" by Bloch in Winter and Wünsche's *Jüdische Litteratur*, II, 699-793. Much more comprehensive and valuable are Bernfeld's two volumes, *דעת אלהים. תולדות הפלוסופיא, הרתית בישראל*, 1897-99. Maimuni's Creed is found in his excursus *ad Sanhed.* x. 1, the Arabic text in Pococke's *Porta Mosis*, 1655, 133-180, and in J. Holzer's *Zur Geschichte der Dogmenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters*, 1901 (the latter work not accessible to me). The apologetic literature from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century is described by Bäck in Winer and Wünsche's *Jüdische Litteratur*, III, 655-719; older works in Arabic in Steinschneider's monograph, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, 1877. On the subject of disputations we have a popular study by Ziegler (*Religiöse Disputationen im Mittelalter*, 1894); his promised comprehensive work has thus far not appeared.

⁵ Weber's *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften* (thus runs the title of the second edition, 1897) is notoriously unsatisfactory. "The fault is partly due to the Jewish scholars themselves. They have done far too little to make their historic theology known. If Weber is a bad book, they have produced no better" (C. G. Montefiore, *Hibbert Journal*, I (1903), 337). Schürer's treatment of the subject in his *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (now in its third edition, 1898-1901) has been criticised by Jewish scholars as biased (see Abrahams, "Professor Schürer on Life under the Jewish Law," *JQR.*, II (1899), 626-642; see also Schechter, "The Law and Recent Criticism," *ibid.*, 3 (1891), 754-766, with reference to Prof. Toy's *Judaism and Christianity*, 1890). Schechter's articles in the *JQR.* ("Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology," 6 (1894), 405-427, 633-647; 7 (1895), 195-215; 8 (1895), 1-16, (1896), 363-380, and "The Rabbinic Conception of Holiness," 10 (1897), 1-12) are certainly valuable *Vorarbeiten*, but, in their present form, somewhat sketchy. Of Bacher's works (*Die Agada der Tannaiten*, I (1884), II (1890), *Die Agada der palästinensischen Amoräer*, I (1892), II (1896)), Dalman, *Worte Jesu* (itself a noteworthy contribution), I (1898), 61, says: "When supplemented by the anonymous haggada of Palestine, these works will form a valuable thesaurus of the sayings of the Palestinian rabbis from which may be con-

that literature with the word which in the subsequent theological writings became the specific term for fundamental principle or dogma, apparently almost with the same force.⁶ But the *locus classicus* is undoubtedly Mishna, *Sanhedrin* x. 1. Exceedingly valuable, especially when divested of the terminology as far as it is borrowed from Greek philosophy and compared with the mishnic evidence, are the summaries of the beliefs held by Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes found in the works of JOSEPHUS.⁷ This writer links us to the theological and apologetic works of the Jews writing in Greek which were grouped around the Greek Pentateuch.⁸ But the Bible itself, that is to say, the Jewish canon, is quite an important source. For, while we shall look there in vain for a systematic exposition of

structed a real 'Theology of the early Palestinian Synagogue.' Bacher has also written: *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer* (1878). The indexes afford opportunity for systematic grouping. A paper on the Theology of the (Old) Prayer Book by the writer is printed *YB.*, 8 (1897), 1-10. The subject needs methodic treatment and should be preceded by a critical study of the history of the Prayer Book.

⁶ עיקר in the phrase כופר בעיקר. See the references in Levy, Kohut s. v. See also Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 54, footnote.

⁷ Collected and estimated by Schürer, II, 382 ff.

⁸ On Hellenistic Jewish literature consult Schürer. A very valuable contribution to the theology of what Christian scholars term "Late Judaism" and what we should call "Early Rabbinism" (bad as the term "Rabbinism" may be), which takes account of Hellenistic Judaism as well, is Bousset's recent work, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1903. Of his own earlier effort (*Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judentum*, 1892) Bousset admits on p. 52 that it emphasizes, in a one-sided manner, the contrast between Jewish and evangelical piety. A review of Bousset's work by the present writer has appeared *ATh.*, April, 1904. The following works also deserve mention: Schlatter, *Israels Geschichte von Alexander dem Grossen bis Hadrian*, 1901 (the inner development receives the greater share of the author's attention); Baldensperger, *Das spätere Judentum als Vorstufe des Christenthums*, 1900, and *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums*, 3, 1903 (the contrast between legalism and Messianism is overdrawn); M. Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen Apologetik als Vorgeschichte des Christenthums*, 1903. Although the distinctive features of Hellenistic Jewish theology were lost in the subsequent development of Judaism on Palestinian and Babylonian soil, the Jewish theologian cannot afford to ignore the Hellenistic development where it serves to elucidate the problems and teachings of "early rabbinic" theology.

doctrine, the Bible, in the first place, contains theological data which it is our business to collect and systematize; but, above all, we shall find there certain fundamental beliefs, dogmas, if you please, which we may recognize by their frequent repetition, the emphasis which is placed upon them and the solemnity with which they are enunciated, and sometimes also by their selection as a mark for the questionings of doubt.*

Thus, with due regard to the historically ascertainable phases of the specific Jewish dogmas, that is, their conscious formulation and re-formulation, or (for the two phases imply but one process) their gradual, increasingly luminous and adequate formulation, we are able to present the creed of Judaism, that is, the content of divinely revealed religious thought possessed by the Jewish community, in so far as it became articulate in its leaders and constituted the tacit or avowed condition of membership therein (of course, in the times preceding our reformation), under the following divisions:

A. THEOLOGY (in the narrower, etymological, sense: fundamental doctrines concerning God): (1) GOD IS:

The belief in the existence of God is the first article in MAIMONI'S Creed: אלקאערה אלואלי ונור אלבארי. In the opening paragraphs of his Code,¹⁰ the knowledge of that cardinal doctrine is made a duty incumbent upon every Jew. "Knowledge" ¹¹ is the title of the first book of the Code. Elsewhere ¹² we are told that a thoughtless, mechanical profession of a religious truth cannot be satisfactory; belief therein must, at the very least, be accompanied by an adequate comprehension of its content. The highest kind of belief is conviction based on speculation (אלדרנה אלעאליה דרנה אלנור).¹³ It is needless to say that BAHIA and MAIMONI are guilty of bad, that is, unhistorical,

* A recent systematic treatment of biblical theology we possess in Dillmann's posthumous *Handbuch der alttestamentlichen Theologie*, 1895. From a strictly historical point of view: Smend, *Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religionsgeschichte*,² 1899.

¹⁰ יסודי התורה, i. 6.

¹¹ מדע.

¹² *Guide*, I, 50.

¹³ See also *ibid.*, III, 51; חובות הלבבות, I, 3. The opposite view is held by Judah ha-Levi, *Kuzari*, v. 1: The highest faith is free from speculation, אלקאערה אלעאליה מן כלין אלקאערה דין בחת.

exegesis, when they attempt to force the speculative meaning upon the biblical *ידע* in *Deut.* iv. 35, 39; *I Chron.* xxviii. 9, or elsewhere. The biblical *ידע אלהים* means obedience to the Divine will, an effort of the will, not an intellectual pursuit. See, e. g., *Jerem.* ix. 23; xii. 16. The prayer for "knowledge, intelligence and insight" (fourth benediction in the *שמונה עשרה*) is to be understood in the same sense.¹⁴ The aversion of the Mishna to speculation is well known.¹⁵ Similarly *Ecclus.* iii. 21 ff.¹⁶ "The fool who hath said in his heart, There is no God" is the *אָטֵיסט* in the sense "ungodly, godless" (a man who conducts himself as if there were no God to whom he is responsible) rather than in that of "atheist" (one who, upon the grounds of speculation, denies the existence of God). A philosophical atheist was beyond the horizon of the Psalmist. It is not impossible that such a person is meant by *אפיקורוס* *Sanhedr.* x. 1. *פָּקֵר*, which seems to be derived from the noun, means to "throw off restraint, be a libertine"; libertinism often sought to justify itself by attacking the beliefs of those who remained within the pale of tradition; hence the injunction: Know how to answer (refute) an Epicurean!¹⁷ In the majority of cases, however, a person called *אפיקורוס* will have been, what we vulgarly call, an infidel, sceptic, etc. MAIMONI was certainly right, in an age when the study of philosophy was current among educated Jews and when many of them were perplexed about the validity of the doctrines of religion and Judaism, to emphasize the duty of speculation in connection with the truths of Judaism: for the antidote to false reasoning which leads men away from religion will always be reason rightly directed. How far did MAIMONI hope to get with reason, speculation, "knowledge"? "All that we may know of God is the mere fact of His absolutely necessary existence—this proposition constitutes the beginning and end of MAIMONI'S theology. The immediate consequence of this principle offers him the basis of his entire theory of attributes, the conviction of the impossibility of any composition in God. . . . Thus any assertion concerning the essence of God is positively impossible. . . . Only those attributes may be employed by which

¹⁴ *Mgil.* 17 b rightly compares *Isai.* vi. 10.

¹⁵ E. g., *Hagig.* ii. 1.

¹⁶ *Ps.* xiv. 2.

¹⁷ See the editions based on the Hebrew.

¹⁸ *Abot* ii. 14.

the essence of God is wholly untouched, as those of activity. . . . As supports of the idea of God for the weak human intellect they cannot be spared and are a necessary evil. . . . But, when, in addition, a set of attributes which have their origin neither in the activities nor in the relations of the Deity, pretend to predicate of God something positive, we may regard as their true content only the fact that the opposite thereof is denied with reference to the Deity. . . . While, however, even the permissible positive attributes are not entirely free from the charge that they endanger the conception of the Divine Unity, even the semblance of a multiplication of the Deity is avoided in the case of the negative attributes. Hence we ought to confine ourselves to the latter; we may multiply them only; we can know only what God is not. Every progress in the cognition of the Deity means only that in a new case our conviction is verified that we can have no knowledge whatever of the essence of God." ¹⁹ MAIMUNI finds a *point d'appui* for his doctrine of the incognoscibility of the Divine essence in Scriptural passages like *Ps. lxxv. 2*: "For Thee silence is praise," ²⁰ or in the saying of the rabbis: "Scripture speaks the language of man." ²¹ Another saying of the rabbis which served him in good stead ²² he took from *Hagig. 15 a*: "There is above neither sitting nor standing, neither combination nor separation." ²³ The story *Brakot 33 b* of one who led the congregation in prayer and was reprimanded by Rabbi Hanina for his multiplication of the Divine attributes ²⁴ affords MAIMUNI the opportunity for incorporating in his Code ²⁵ a prohibition of multiplying the Divine attributes in prayer. The doctrine of the incognoscibility of God was by no means original with MAIMUNI, says KAUFMANN; ²⁶ he had his predecessors among Jews, Mohammedans, Christians; PHILO had long before him propounded the theory of negative attributes; ²⁷ but no one among the Jewish theologians of

¹⁹ Kaufmann, 471-473. See his exposition of Maimuni's system in detail, 364 ff., esp. 428 ff.

²⁰ This is, of course, a rendering *ad hoc*.

²¹ The application of this saying to the Divine attributes is, of course, not warranted in the original contexts, still the principle was there, and Maimuni rightly made his own deductions. See יסורי התורה i. 12.

²² *Ibid.*, 11.

²³ So according to Maimuni's reading and interpretation, *Sanhedr. x. 1*, third article; see Rashi for another reading and interpretation.

²⁴ Kaufmann, 447.

²⁵ תפלה, ix. 7.

²⁶ P. 481.

²⁷ Bousset, 420.

the Middle Ages pronounced it with such seriousness and fearlessness.²⁸ MAIMUNI's theory of negative attributes was pronounced as unsatisfactory by CRESCAS (1405) who vindicates for the Deity five positive attributes: Existence, Unity, Omniscience, Volition, Omnipotence. Similarly ALBO (1428).

(2) HE IS ONE:

The second article in MAIMUNI's Creed: *והרבה*. It is universally agreed that the dogma of the Unity of God occupies the central place in the system of the Jewish religion; it is the corner-stone of Judaism, its only dogma according to some. "In the confession of the Unity of God is contained the sum of the Jewish religion."²⁹ "The Jewish Church properly possesses but one dogma: the belief in the One God."³⁰ How old is the monotheistic dogma in Judaism? The term dogma has been defined above; a dogma must be formulated before it can be dignified by that name. It is furthermore clear that, inasmuch as formulation with us may partake of inadequacy and the want of finality, which render a more adequate and perfect re-formulation necessary, the meaning of the term "monotheism" will necessarily vary. Whatever, therefore, is in the line of, and tends to, the most adequate and perfect definition of monotheism, absolute monotheism, is at once worthy of the name even in its less perfect, relative phase. The historian should record the phases as they succeed each other: polytheism, monolatry, monotheism; when he speaks of a "primitive monotheism"—*Urmonotheismus*—he either misuses the term or oversteps the limits of his subject. So much for the phantom which DELITZSCH has conjured up in his (first) lecture on *Babel und Bibel* and which has sorely provoked H. S. CHAMBERLAIN.³¹ The theologian, indeed, may with perfect propriety speak of an *Urmonotheismus*, a latent monotheism, which, once revealed to a human ear, here and there and every-

²⁸ On the "docta ignorantia" of mediæval Christian scholars see Flint, *loc. cit.*, 109, and Schreiner, *Die jüngsten Urteile über das Judentum*, 1902, 143.

²⁹ Bousset, 169.

³⁰ *Id.*, 291. It must be remembered that B. is treating of a specific period in Judaism; see above, p. 10, footnote 5.

³¹ *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1,⁴ 1903, xlix ff.

where, but particularly among those whom, in a later period of their history, we call Jews, was bound sooner or later to become articulate and manifest. Similarly, Judaism, in an historical sense, is the name for the system of a definite period during which the distinctively Jewish doctrines and institutions became boldly apparent; but, theologically speaking, we may be permitted to include in the term also the system of the period of preparation during which those doctrines may be discerned as a tendency. I take it, therefore, that monotheism as a tendency is as old as Jahvism and may, without doing violence to history, be associated with the name of Moses. "Jahu is the name of God among the Western Semites. The matter has been repeatedly treated and proved on the basis of the inscriptions. If the name of God in the Old Testament has anything to do with it (according to our opinion it represents a conscious aim at differentiating it from the heathen name), this is of no significance for the determination of the Old Testament concept of the Deity. The name, though starting from something given, became the signal for a religious concentration at Sinai. From this connection of the revelation with something historically given the fact may be explained that pre-prophetic monotheism remained relative."²² "The Philistines aroused Jahve from his slumber."²³ The *nb'i'im* arose. When Ahab, to please his Tyrian spouse, built in Samaria a temple for the Tyrian Baal, Elijah protested. "For him it was a halting on both sides, an irreconcilable contradiction, that Jahve was worshiped as the God of Israel and that at the same time a chapel was built for Baal in Israel."²⁴ "I, Jahve thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage—thou shalt have none other gods beside Me"²⁵—the oldest formulation of monotheism, though in a relative form. The monotheistic idea was the force that brought about the Josianic reformation with its single sanctuary; but out of that reformation the monotheistic idea came forth in a new and perfect form. "Hear, O Israel, Jahve, our God, Jahve is One: and thou shalt love Jahve thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."²⁶

²² A. Jeremias, *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*, 1903, 13 f.

²³ Wellhausen, *IJG*, 53.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁵ *Exod.* xx. 2 f.

²⁶ *Deut.* vi. 4 f.

I know the philological difficulties of verse 4 which, however, are exaggerated by LAGARDE.⁷⁷ No such difficulties obtain with regard to *Deut.* iv. 35: "Thou wast made to see, so as to know that Jahve, He is God." "Relative monotheism has become absolute."⁷⁸ Indeed, a Hebrew writer wishing to give expression to the doctrine of absolute monotheism could not choose a more unambiguous phraseology.⁷⁹ The very name Jahve was later supplanted by Adonai (ὁ Κύριος, the Lord) and Elohim.⁸⁰ The stage of relative monotheism is very properly designated by Jahvism; it is, on the surface, a national religion, the religion of a nation enjoying political life. But absolute monotheism which is Judaism, the religion of a community developing into a Church, should be named Theism, the Greek equivalent of Elohism. The deuteronomistic writers are fully conscious of the *differentia* of Judaism. The great anonymous writer (and editor?) of *Isai.* xl. ff. again and again reiterates the Jewish belief in the One and Eternal God. "I, Jahve, who am the first, and with those that come after am still the same."⁸¹ "That ye may acknowledge and believe Me, and discern that I am He; before Me no God was formed, nor shall there be after Me."⁸² "I am the first, and I am the last, and beside Me there is no God."⁸³ On Deutero-Isaiah's polemical invectives against the nothingness of the heathen gods see SMEND.⁸⁴ "Deutero-Isaiah seems to take the name of Jahve in the sense of the true God. Moreover, he also says for Jahve simply *ל* in the sense of the Only God." "The ridicule to which the images are subjected is due to the dread with which the heathen deities still inspired the people; it also shows that monotheism was no longer capable of entering into the spirit of image worship." How far the developed absolute monotheism, where it was not itself endangered by counter-movements, was capable of tolerance towards the heathen religions, is shown *Malachi* i. 11, 14. "For from the rising of the sun even unto the

⁷⁷ *Deutsche Schriften*, Gesamtausgabe letzter Hand, 1892, 318.

⁷⁸ Bertholet, 1899, *ad loc.*

⁷⁹ See Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*,⁸ 1892, § 199.

⁸⁰ *E. g.*, in the Elohim Psalms; see Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2d edition, 1892, 198 f. See also Wellhausen, *IJG.*, 225.

⁸¹ xli. 4.

⁸² xliii. 10.

⁸³ xliv. 6.

⁸⁴ P. 347, esp. note 3.

going down of the same My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering." "Malachi in the end finds that all the cultus of the heathens is at the bottom intended for the One God."⁴³ On the Hellenistic Jewish estimate of heathenism see BOUSSET.⁴⁴ The confession of the Unity of God became the center of Jewish liturgy (the שְׁמַע); it meant "taking upon oneself the yoke of the Sovereignty of God";⁴⁵ it was followed by what must indeed be termed a Confession: "All this is everlastingly true and established with us, that He is the Lord our God, and that there is none beside Him."⁴⁶ The שְׁמַע was on the lips of the dying martyr Rabbi Akiba⁴⁷ as of many a martyr after him. With the שְׁמַע the Jew protested against Babylonian and Graeco-Roman polytheism, against Parsist dualism, against Christian trinitarianism. The confession and love of the One God was the first commandment, the greatest of all, in the times of Jesus⁴⁸ as well as ever after, in the system of Judaism. The conception of the Unity of God was deepened ("re-formulated") by our mediæval theologians. SOLOMON IBN GABIROL (about 1050?) sings: "Thou art One, and the mystery of Thy Unity baffles the wisest, for they cannot define it. Thou art One, but not as the one who may be numbered, for neither plurality nor change nor any attribute can be predicated of Thee. Thou art One, and were I to attempt to place Thee within bound or rule, my imagination would become bewildered. I therefore said, 'I will take heed to my ways, that I sin not with my tongue.'"⁴⁹ Noteworthy is his high conception of religion in all its forms: "Thou art God, and all men are Thy servants and worshipers, nor is Thy honor diminished, because they serve others than Thee, for the intention

⁴³ Smend, 377. Similarly Wellhausen, IJG., 225.

⁴⁴ P. 170 ff., 294.

⁴⁵ קבלת עול מלכות שמים. Brakot ii. 5. אמת ואמונה כל זאת וקים עלינו כי הוא יהוה אלהינו ואין זולתו. *Evening Service*.

⁴⁶ Brakot 61 b: היה מאריך באחד עד שיצתה נשמתו באחד.

⁴⁷ Mark xii. 28 ff.

⁴⁸ אתה אחד. *Sfardic ritual* for the Eve of the Day of Atonement: כתר מלכות ובסוד אחרות חכמי לב יתמחו כי לא ידעו מה הוא: אתה אחד ולא כאחד הקנוי והמנוי כי לא ישיג רבוי ושנוי לא תאר ולא כנוי: אתה אחד ולשום לך חק וגבול נלאה הגיוני על כן אמרתי אשמרה דרכי מחטא בלשוני:

of all of them is to attain to Thee.”⁸⁷ MAIMONI’s conception of God’s Unity is exactly that of IBN GABIROL. See *יסורי החורה*, i. 7. It is summed up by KAUFMANN.⁸⁸ “What is really intended by us is just this much, that God is not multiplex. This cannot be expressed positively unless we call Him One. We therefore awaken the most correct conception and come nearest to the truth by saying of God that He is One, but not through oneness.”⁸⁹

(3) HE IS HOLY (TRANSCENDENT).

The third article in MAIMONI’s Creed: *נפי אלנסמאניה ענה וילך אן*, “היא אלוהאחד מא הו נסם ולא קוה לנסם ולא חלחקה לואחק אלאנסמא” to refrain from ascribing to Him corporeity, that is, to believe that the One God is not a body, nor a force within a body, and that no bodily accidents may be attributed to Him.” My selection of the adjective *Holy* (for the negative *Incorporeal*, or for the positive *Spiritual*) in the sense of Transcendent is based on *Isai*. xlv. 25.⁹⁰ JUDAH HA-LEVI explicitly connects the meaning of Transcendence with the adjective *קדוש* in the Bible and Prayer Book.⁹¹ The prophet Hosea was outspoken in his hostility to image worship, that is, to a repre-

אתה אלוה וכל היצורים עבדיך ועובדיך ולא יחסר כבודך בנלל עובדי בלעדיך.
כי כונת כלם להניע עריך.

⁸⁷ P. 424 ff.

⁸⁸ See *Guide*, I, c. 57.

⁸⁹ Quoted below; hence in the hymn *ינדר לא נשור אליו קדשתו*.

⁹⁰ *Kuzari*, iv 3: “‘Holy’ designates that He is too holy and exalted to permit attributing to Him any of the properties of His creatures; if such attributes are used, they are used only figuratively. Hence Isaiah heard an infinite ‘Holy, holy, holy’ (*Isai*. vi. 3), which simply means that God is too exalted and holy to be affected by any of the impurities of the people among whom His glory dwells. And thus he also saw Him seated upon a high and exalted throne, by which is meant the spiritual sanctity which must not be represented in corporeal form and which is free from all that appertains to bodies,” *ואמא קדוש פכנאיה ען אלתנויה ואלתרפיע ען (אן) יליק בה*, *צפה מן צפאת אלמכלוקאת ואן סמי בהא עלי אלמנאן ולדלק סמע ישעיהו קדוש קדוש קדוש אלי מא (לא) נהאיה יעני אנה מנוה ומרפע ומקדם ומברי ען אן ילחקה שי מן נגאסאת אלאמה אלתי חל נורה פימא בינהם ולדלך ראה על כסא רם ונשא פיכני בקדוש ען אלוהאני אלדי לא יתנסם ולא יתשבה בנאנבה שי ממא יתעלק באלמנסמא*. Also iii. 17 with reference to “Thou art Holy” in the Prayer Book.

sensation of Jahve in any visible form. "Elijah and Elisha had nothing to say against the image of the bull in Bethel . . . and the Decalogue of *Exod.* xxxiv. condemns only⁸⁷ molten images." But Hosea condemns all images as irreconcilable with the innermost essence of religion."⁸⁸ Similarly Isaiah.⁸⁹ "In human arrogance and defiance originate also the . . . images . . . They are naught in comparison with the One whose sway over the world is absolute, over against whom the people would, as it were, place those images."⁹⁰ The Decalogue of *Exod.* xx. turns the preaching of Hosea and Isaiah into an absolute prohibition of image worship.⁹¹ The deuteronomistic writers lay great stress upon that prohibition. To them, the holy Jahve is above all representation. "That Jahve is not to be represented by images is of the utmost moment to the deuteronomistic writers. Of course, that is still far from denying to Jahve all bodily shape."⁹² The dogma of the Transcendence of God is here in its relative stage, in a provisional formulation. The polemics against the images we meet with again in Deutero-Isaiah. Correspondingly he emphasizes the Incomparability of God. "To whom then will ye liken God? or what likeness will ye compare unto Him?"⁹³ "To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal to him? says the Holy One."⁹⁴ To the writer of the Priests' Code the absolute Transcendence of the Deity is an established dogma. It is presupposed in every line. "The conception of God in the Priests' Code is that of genuine Judaism:⁹⁵ in contrast to the older narrators in the book of Genesis, the author avoids all anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions. In the Priests' Code, God does not swear, nor does He repent anything; nowhere are human essence or human necessity ascribed to Him. He is the absolutely supramundane and self-sufficient Lord. He does not speak to men in dreams; there is no mention of a vision, not even of angels. He appears Himself, but in a mysterious manner, to bless, and to announce His mercy. In an equally mysterious manner He is present upon the

⁸⁷ The restriction is open to doubt.

⁸⁸ Verse 17.

⁸⁹ Smend, 210.

⁹⁰ With whom the appellation "The Holy One" for Jahve is most frequent.

⁹¹ Smend, 221

⁹² See Smend, 284.

⁹³ Smend, 278, footnote.

⁹⁴ xl. 18.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁹⁶ That is, in a more adequate formulation.

lid of the ark. Nor is His government of the world in need of natural mediation: without resistance both nature and the world of man submit to his word and will."¹⁷ That this "purely supernatural" God was quite near to his worshipers will be shown later (against SMEND and others). BOUSSET devotes a number of pages (302-313) to the doctrine of the Transcendence of God in "Late Judaism" both in Palestinian and Alexandrian theology. The old name Jahve has disappeared; ¹⁸ substitutes are introduced, all expressive of the sublime and ineffable character of the Deity. Attributes are multiplied; ¹⁹ or abstract terms are employed: Heaven, the Divine Glory or Majesty, the Divine Presence,²⁰ the Word, the Place. Frequently the explicit naming of the Deity is avoided through a turn of the phrase, or change of construction. "Where in any manner the context remains intelligible, the name of God is omitted and the predicate is left without an explicit subject. Similarly, the passive is used for the active, even the plural of the active verb." Noteworthy is the formula "before God." "It is no more said, 'God wills, God determines, but it is the will before God.'²¹ The transformation in the conception is shown not only in language, but also in the entire world of ideas with which the Deity was surrounded. This is most clear, when we consider the treatment of the ancient sacred tradition in Late Judaism. Much that the ancient tradition had innocently reported of God, traits which are too human—the emphasis placed on passionateness in the Divine character, all that suggests changeableness, the mention of His repentance (sentiment of regret), the conception that God has limbs which may be perceived by sense, that He appears, walks, stands, comes, rests—all that became offensive now, and the Jews applied themselves to the task of so transforming tradition that it in every way corresponded to the new conceptions. Alexandrian Judaism went in this direction much farther than that of Palestine. But there are no fundamental differences to be registered between the two schools. An entire set of such characteristic transformations may be seen, *e. g.*, in the *Book of Jubilees*, the oldest haggadic work

¹⁷ Smend, 433 f. ¹⁸ See above, p. 17.

¹⁹ See, however, above (p. 14), the example of Rabbi Ḥanina for rabbinic Judaism.

²⁰ שכינה.

²¹ Compare, *e. g.*, the liturgical formula יהי רצון מלפניך.

on Genesis." Between the promulgation of the Priests' Code and the fixing of the text about 100 of our era, the Scriptural text was manipulated by diaskeuasts with a view to removing or, at least, mitigating objectionable anthropomorphisms. The merit of proving "dogmatic corrections" in our biblical text belongs to ABRAHAM GEIGER.⁷² As the title of the work indicates, the evidence of the versions is gathered there as well. The corrections in Onkelos had been indicated by S. D. LUZZATTO in 1830 (אורח נר).⁷³ "The theology of Alexandrian Judaism made it its chief task to transform the anthropomorphic character of the Old Testament" and by a spiritual interpretation of the letter, to reconcile it with the refined taste of its intellectual environment.⁷⁴ In the allegorical method of interpretation⁷⁵ there had been found a convenient means of proving that in those very grossly material expressions and conceptions of Scripture deep mysteries lie hidden. The view of history in the last part of *Wisdom*, the fragments of ARISTOBULUS, PSEUDO-ARISTEAS and, above all, the works of PHILO offer innumerable instances. When *Gen.* vi. 6 it reads: 'And it repented Jahve,' PHILO writes his work: *quod deus sit immutabilis.*"⁷⁶ The mediæval theologians simply followed in the line of their illustrious predecessors. Both the theosophic-mystic speculations of the gaonic times concerning the Deity⁷⁷ as well as the Christian dogma of the Incarnation made a new effort necessary for the suppres-

⁷² *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857.

⁷³ A later monograph on the subject is by S. Maybaum: *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien bei Onkelos*, 1870. A monograph on the dogmatic corrections in the Septuagint is still wanting. Material may be found in the works of Gfrörer (Bousset, 49. 312), Frankel (*Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*, 1841, 174 ff.; see also the works quoted by Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, 1875, 8) and others. The rabbinic examples should likewise be collected (כביכול etc). On Philo, Siegfried, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁴ That is, in its older portions.

⁷⁵ Siegfried, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ Add: and time.

⁷⁷ Bousset, 312.

⁷⁸ E. g., those of the שיעור קומה which, while engaged in outlining the Infinity of God which is above all human conceptions (so according to Karppe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, 1901, 93 ff.), employ grossly materialistic measurements for which the Jewish theologians were taunted by Mohammedans and Karaites (Kaufmann, 86 ff.).

sion of all anthropomorphism in the Jewish idea of God. It is needless to quote from IBN GABIROL's poem. The whole introduction sings of the Transcendence of God. JUDAH HA-LEVI defends, or rather excuses, the biblical anthropomorphisms and even those of the theosophic *שיעור קומה* on the ground of the greater vividness which attaches to sense perception and consequently to imagination and intuition than to the concepts reached by the intellect. Not through speculation, by which the philosophers attain to weak and lifeless abstractions, but through intuition, the greatness, power, mercy, knowledge, life, permanence, dominion of God, the truth that He is in need of nothing, while everything is in need of Him, His unity and holiness, all at once, in one moment, is brought before the eye of the prophet in the form of certain sublime figures.⁷⁹ ABRAHAM IBN DAUD (1160) rejects the literal interpretation of the biblical anthropomorphisms. They are designed for the mass of the people; or they refer to the lower intelligences employed by God as his agencies.⁸⁰ None, however, took the problem up as seriously as MAIMONI. The first forty-nine chapters of the first part of his *Guide* are devoted to this subject. "It is true that, from the oldest times, it was the endeavor of the thinkers in Judaism to remove the apparent⁸¹ anthropomorphism of Scripture in accordance with the requirements of reason;⁸² that, from the versions of ONKELOS and JONATHAN, through the series of the gaons, to the highest development of Jewish speculation, the polemics against ascribing to the Deity bodily form constitute one unbroken chain; that all our philosophers without exception did all in their power to put out of the way everything which might tend to give support to that pernicious notion; that all of them were unanimous in the opinion that it is impossible for the human mind to form an adequate notion of an attribute descriptive of the essence of the Deity; yet the labors of the thinkers had not sufficiently penetrated the popular consciousness; corporeal notions concerning the Deity were by no means an impossibility, but quite frequent and widely spread; the letter of Scripture, in spite of the strenuous efforts at trans-

⁷⁹ Kaufmann, 219 f.

⁸⁰ Kaufmann, 359 f.

⁸¹ The expression is incorrect for the older parts.

⁸² Rather: of the developed notion of the Deity.

formation and allegorical interpretation, which had been going on for centuries, was still asserting itself on the minds of the people so that there were some who refused to give up the literal meaning and charged all those who dared to doubt it with heresy. Not only the masses who naturally always cling to the grossly material, but even students of the Jewish law, in so far as they had not given their time to philosophical studies, were held captive by the old, seemingly ineradicable notion."⁸³ Of course, they believed that they were guarding the authority of the Scriptural word in its literalness."⁸⁴ "These sad phenomena induced MAIMUNI to write his 'Guide of the Perplexed,' a work which the times seemed to demand and which truly could brook no delay." In his Code⁸⁵ he declares those who ascribe to God bodily shape as excommunicated from membership in the Jewish Church. On the storm which that declaration provoked see KAUFMANN.⁸⁶ But MAIMUNI'S doctrine of the Transcendence of God prevailed. "The sway of anthropomorphisms was put an end to; the idea of God was purified and the effects were discernible far and wide." A hundred years after the death of Maimuni, JEDIAH PENINI wrote to the rabbinic authority SOLOMON IBN ADRET that "that evil belief in the bodily form of God had been rooted out of all sections of Jewry." "Such anthropomorphisms as had been freely given expression to before MAIMUNI, were soon regarded as blasphemies; except in circles influenced by the Kabbala, corporeal notions of the Deity came to be an utter impossibility among Jews."⁸⁷ BERNFELD⁸⁸ points out how MAIMUNI was devoid of all poetic sentiment; he contrasts the religious poetry of SOLOMON IBN GABIROL and JUDAH HA-LEVI, which, "though, in general, representing the philosophical system of MAIMUNI, leaves room for enthusiasm." The kabbalistic speculations are thus seen in the light of a necessary reaction, a revolt of sentiment against reason, of heart against head. Still the attitude of official Judaism may be said to have been in the line of MAIMUNI'S declaration against all anthropomorphism.

⁸³ Kaufmann, 484 f.

⁸⁴ פשט. Somewhere else I hope to show that we were slow in learning to understand just what the literal meaning is and how it is to be obtained.

⁸⁵ תשובה, iii. 7.

⁸⁶ P. 487 ff.

⁸⁷ Kaufmann, 498.

⁸⁸ i. 256, footnote.

B. COSMOLOGY (doctrines concerning the world in its relation to God): (4) THE WORLD WAS CREATED, AND IS SUSTAINED, BY GOD.

According to MAIMUNI's formulation of the fourth article of his Creed,¹ it ought to be placed under the heading of Theology. But the divisions adopted here are necessarily far from rigid; they run into one another; in point of fact, the whole Creed is Theology, for whatever we say of the world or of man derives its religious character only from its relation to the center, to God. How old is the conception of Jahve as Creator of heaven and earth? The biblical cosmogonic conceptions have of late received a great deal of attention in their relation to, and perhaps dependence upon, non-Israelitic, notably Babylonian, accounts of creation.² We shall be satisfied with quoting GUNKEL:³ "In this province also the one-sidedness of our modern critics, who are solely concerned with the analysis of the literary documents, has done mischief, by denying high antiquity to the idea of creation simply because it is found in the older prophets rarely or not at all, while it plays so important a part in Deutero-Isaiah. But the older prophets speak of the nearest future of Israel and not of cosmology, or of primitive legends; the 'dogma of creation' is indeed ancient, but it is quite true that only at a certain period did the great political prophets take hold of it; it is then that this dogma which heretofore had had no particular value for practical religion assumed an immense significance; see 'Shöpfung und Chaos,' p. 156 ff. We thus conclude from the extant material that the tradition underlying *Genesis* i., though in a different form, must have existed in very ancient times." We may say that the cosmogonic conceptions belong to the oldest stock of religious beliefs associated with Jahvism and that, from the very beginning, all theogonic elements were rigidly excluded, while the religious *motif* underlying the cosmological hymns, even in their mythological form, the praise of the power and goodness of the Creator, was stu-

אלקדם וילך אן הדיא אלוואחד אלמוצוף הו אלקדים עלי יאמלאק וכל מונזר נירה¹
 אלה that is: He is the absolutely First, Eternal.

¹ For our present purpose we may limit ourselves to the following works: Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1895; *Genesis übersetzt und erklärt*,² 1902; Zimmermann, *KAT.*, 488 ff.; also Zapletal *Der Schöpfungsbericht der Genesis*, 1902.

² *Genesis*, 109 f.

diously retained. The importance which Deutero-Isaiah attaches to the idea of creation has been adverted to.⁹² Jahve, that is, God, the One; Jahve, the Holy One; Jahve, the Creator—those are for Deutero-Isaiah but aspects of one and the same truth. "God created the world with the ease of play, as it were . . . at His command everything came into existence, as at His word the great host of stars (the supposed heathen deities) is daily mustered, none dares to remain away."⁹³ Deutero-Isaiah asks his readers, Who else but Jahve is the author of the world?⁹⁴ He tells them that they have known it all the time.⁹⁵ Indeed, the question concerning the origin of the world had presented itself long ago; it goes without saying that the answer was, Jahve is the author of the world. But only when the national glory of Israel had been destroyed, did the creation of the world by Jahve and his dominion of it become an important religious truth, the necessary correlative of Jahve's universal dominion in history."⁹⁶ "Jahve's is the earth and the fulness thereof," sings the Psalmist;⁹⁷ "the world and they that dwell therein." "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth His handiwork."⁹⁸ *Ps. civ.* is one great, glorious hymn to God, the Creator and Sustainer of the world. Of the first chapter of *Genesis* SMEND says that it gives expression to the specifically Jewish belief in creation in its peculiar sublimity. "The world as the scene of God's disposition of historical events is not only absolutely in His power, but He has also established it from the very beginning just for that end. Everything came into being, because God so willed it, and by His word, by which He directs history, He has also made the world. At His command the things came into existence, and that at once in perfect form, *i. e.*, just as He wished them. He gave them their names and thus fixed their task and position in the world. Thus the world is but a means to an end."⁹⁹ The religious content of the chapter is summed up by ZAPLETAL¹⁰⁰ in the following words: "This world was created by God; and by Him alone, without the aid of a demiurge. He created it by His mere word, that is, He did not need to work hard as

⁹² See above.⁹³ xl. 26.⁹⁴ xl. 12, 26.⁹⁵ xl. 21.⁹⁶ Smend, 348 f.⁹⁷ xxiv. 1.⁹⁸ Ps. xix. 2.⁹⁹ P. 435.¹⁰⁰ *Loc. cit.*, 67 f.

the demiurges of the heathen cosmogonies. Hence it also follows that the world corresponds to His will. . . . The account of the creation . . . is probably also intended for apologetic purposes. Among the neighbors of Israel, the sun, moon, and all sorts of stars were worshiped as gods; the Israelites are told in *Gen.* i. that all of them are but the work of Elohim. Also animals, plants and other creatures had in the Orient their worshipers; the Israelites are here taught that all of them are but things which came into being by the word of Elohim." On the other hand, it is quite correctly emphasized by GUNKEL that the author of *Genesis* i. attached some importance to the scientific side of his effort, scientific, of course, for his time. Nor did he succeed in emancipating himself quite completely from certain mythological conceptions. Thus the primeval chaos, the *ἀμορφος ὕλη*,¹⁰¹ remained.¹⁰² The importance attached to the dogma of creation in the apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings is dwelt upon by BOUSSET.¹⁰³ "In the Hellenistic literature, the idea of creation occupies a more central place than in Palestinian Judaism. The belief in the One Invisible Spiritual God who, Himself uncreated, produced this visible created world out of Himself is the most essential point in the missionary teaching of Alexandrian Judaism. The entire philosophy of PHILO is centered in this thought that the visible world originates in the spiritual essence of the Eternal God which transcends the senses, nay, even thought. The cosmological argument is repeated again and again in his works."¹⁰⁴ In the Prayer Book, God is praised as the Creator of the universe¹⁰⁵ "who by his kindness, continually reneweth, day by day, the work of creation;"¹⁰⁶ he is the King of the world.¹⁰⁷ The mystery of creation was a subject for speculation

¹⁰¹ *Wisd.* xi. 18.

¹⁰² Gunkel (*Genesis*, 90) finds the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* in *II Maccab.* vii. 28; *Hebr.* xi. 3. But the opinion is subject to doubt (Smend, 437, footnote 1; Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*,⁹ 1897, 284, footnote).

¹⁰³ P. 295.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 295 f.

¹⁰⁵ המחדש בטובו בכל יום תמיד מעשה בראשית

¹⁰⁶ בורא את הכל.

¹⁰⁷ מלך העולם.

among the theosophically inclined rabbis.¹⁰⁸ The Jewish doctrine of creation is stated by MAIMUNI¹⁰⁹ as follows: "The opinion of all those who believe in the law of Moses, our teacher, is that the world, in its totality, that is to say, every being with the exception of God, was made existent by God out of the pure and absolute nothing;¹¹⁰ that (in the beginning) there existed God alone and nothing beside Him, neither angel, nor sphere, nor whatever is in the celestial sphere; whereupon He brought into existence all these things, such as they are, by His free will, and out of nothing;¹¹¹ lastly, that time itself was among the things created. . . . This is then one of the (three) opinions; it indubitably forms a fundamental principle of the Law of Moses (of Judaism), second in importance only to the dogma of the Unity (וְהוּא רִאשׁוֹנָה קְדָמָהּ) (אלתוהיך)." ¹¹² The doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* was combated by LEVI BEN GERSHON in the fourteenth century;¹¹³ his view on the subject is really a compromise.¹¹⁴ Similarly JUDAH HA-LEVI¹¹⁵ thinks that belief in uncreated matter, the *עליון*, is consonant with Judaism.

C. ANTHROPOLOGY (doctrines concerning man in his relation to, and intercourse with, God): (5) MAN WAS CREATED IN THE IMAGE OF GOD.

The fifth article in MAIMUNI'S Creed is formulated as follows: אָנָּה תְּעָאֵלִי הוּא אֱלֹדִי יִנְבְּנִי אֵן יַעֲבֹד וַיַּעֲבֹד וַיַּעֲלֵן בְּתַעֲבִימָה וְטָאֲעָתָה וְלֹא יַפְעֵל דְּלִךְ לְמֵן דְּיוֹנָה פִּי אֶלּוֹנוֹד . . . וְלֹא תַחֲכֹד וְסָאִיט לְלַחְצוֹל אֵלֶיהָ בִּלְנַחוּה תְּעָאֵלִי תַקְעֵד אֶלְאִפְכָּאֵר. Negatively expressed, the doctrine amounts to a repudiation of the aid of intermediaries, like angels, *etc.*, whose existence, by the way, is not denied;¹¹⁶ in positive terms it means that the true service of God consists in direct communion with Him. This dogma might be placed under Theology and be formulated: He is near unto man. But, inasmuch as man enters into the statement, we shall do better if we place the article under Anthropology; we furthermore choose the formulation as in the heading for the reason that

¹⁰⁸ *Hagig.* 11 b ff. ¹⁰⁹ *Guide*, II, c. 13. ¹¹⁰ בער אַלערס אַלמחץ אַלמטלוק ¹¹¹

¹¹² לֹא מֵן שִׁי ¹¹³ See also *ibid.*, c. 25 ff. ¹¹⁴ מַלְחָמוֹת הַשֵּׁם, book vi, part 2.

¹¹⁵ See Bernfeld's exposition, 424-429.

¹¹⁶ *Kuzari*, i. 67.

¹¹⁷ Spiritualized in the *Guide*, I, c. 49; II, 6 ff.

God's nearness to man and man's ability to commune with God imply a fundamental principle in the nature of man, namely his kinship to God. In Hebrew: שהאדם נברא בצלם אלהים ושלכן השם יתברך קרוב לקוראיו בלי כל אמצעי. We are at once reminded of *Gen.* i. 27. GUNKEL writes: "The idea is not that man was created in the image of the One God (Jahve) ('in my image'), but in that of the אלהים-beings ('in our image') *Ps.* viii. 6: he is 'the world's little God.' Although this thought must not be given too lofty a signification, this idea of man's similitude to the אלהים is nevertheless, in the opinion of the author of *Gen.* i., something very extraordinary." GUNKEL proceeds to inquire wherein this likeness to God consists. "The author says nothing about it, since he regards the matter as obvious; but what his thoughts on the subject are is quite clear from v. 1-3, the continuation of the account of creation in P: God created Adam in his own likeness; Adam begat Seth in his own likeness. The second sentence is clear beyond doubt: the son looks like his father, he is like him in form and appearance. Accordingly the first sentence should be interpreted to mean: the first man was like God in form and appearance. That the likeness to God was so understood by P is shown ix. 6: Whoso sheddeth man's blood, attacks in man the image of God. Accordingly, this likeness to God refers in the first instance to the body, although the mind is by no means ignored."¹³¹ I think that GUNKEL will assent to the following restatement. Back of the thought that man was created in the image of celestial beings there is undoubtedly an ancient mythological conception; that the gross anthropomorphism which it implies could not have been shared by the writer of the chapter is quite clear from the fact that "P in particular avoids anthropomorphisms as much as possible." Furthermore, v. 1-3,

¹³¹ *Genesis*, 98.

¹³² See the references to Greek and Babylonian conceptions; to the anthropomorphisms in the Old Testament: "the thought of the incorporeity of God transcends the horizon of the Old Testament writers." But by the side of the anthropomorphic conceptions there is noticeable in Israel "already in ancient times another current." Gunkel adduces the evidences for the ascendancy of transcendental conceptions and quotes Holzinger, *Hexateuch*, 380, to the effect that P in particular avoids anthropomorphisms as much as possible.

adduced by GUNKEL, proves nothing. The phrase may have had a different meaning for P there. What P wishes to say is that all humanity, notwithstanding the many differences, is a unit, descended from one pair—a religious thought of the import of which P was perhaps not quite conscious.¹¹⁹ Adam in c. i., and certainly ix. 6, means man collectively (in c. i. a personification; in ix. 6 any individual as a human being). When the writer says that Adam was created in the image of God he means that man collectively (that is, all human beings) is distinguished as akin to the divine, celestial beings. I think, GUNKEL notwithstanding, that *Ps.* viii. 6 ff. understood P or P's source quite correctly. That man's dominion over the earth is the subject of a special blessing (an explicit statement of what is implied in the conception of the image of God) should not trouble an exegete who can see further than just the verse he is interpreting. I believe that both P and the Psalmist are supremely conscious of the dignity of man which he derives from his kinship to beings which are above earth. At any rate, the thought, once enunciated, was bound to transcend all relativity and tend to assume its absolute form. SMEND's exposition¹²⁰ is certainly nearer the truth than GUNKEL's. The thought that the world was created only for history as directed by God finds its completion in the idea that man was created in the image of God. Man's likeness to God which, it must be admitted, is conceived also as corporeal (v. 3) means his mental powers which lift him above the animal and fit him for dominion over the world. It furthermore signifies the capacity of entering into communion with God and of acting in accordance with His will, and, lastly, the singular dignity which he alone in creation possesses. Hence follows for him the duty of ruling over the world in accordance with the Divine will and of guarding and respecting the Divine dignity in himself as well as in his fellow-men. The Jew confronts the world and nature with sovereign self-consciousness—he knows not what it is to dread the world—but also with the sense of supreme responsibility. Such is the practical consequence of the prophetic faith in the government of the world by the One God.

¹¹⁹ See Ben Azzai's exposition further on (p. 31).

¹²⁰ P. 439 f.

As God's vicegerent, man may and shall subject to himself the entire world, but only as such. He must not follow his arbitrary caprice, but solely the revealed will of God.¹²¹ "Beloved is man," Rabbi Akiba is reported to have said,¹²² "for he was created in the Image." Ben Azzai's exposition of *Gen.* v. 1 to which I have adverted is found in *Sifra*¹²³ and runs as follows: "'And thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself': Rabbi Akiba says, This is the greatest law¹²⁴ (under which, therefore, all particular laws relating to our conduct towards our fellow-men are subsumed) in the Law; Ben Azzai says, 'This is the book of the genealogy of Adam,' that is a still more general law."¹²⁵ That for MAIMONI that which constitutes man's likeness to God should consist in the faculty of reason with which he is endowed, goes without saying.¹²⁶ Interesting is IBN EZRA'S (twelfth century) remark on *Gen.* i. 26: "Also on account of the highest soul of man which is immortal and, because of its immortality, is likened to God; nor is it corporeal, although it penetrates the whole body;¹²⁷ now the body of man is like a microcosm;¹²⁸ blessed be God who 'began at the greater (the macrocosm), and left at the smaller';¹²⁹ moreover the prophet (Ezekiel) said¹³⁰ that he saw the glory of God 'as the appearance of a man;' now God is the One, and He is the Creator of the All, and He is the All; but I am not in a position to make myself clearer."¹³¹

A more pessimistic view concerning the nature of man, coupled with the scarcely veiled heathenish thought of the jealous disposition of the Deity,¹³² prevails in the Jahvistic account of the creation of man and his expulsion from Paradise in *Gen.* c. ii. f. It finds its expression in the words of another Jahvist writer:¹³³ "Whatever man's heart thinks and plans is only evil continually, from his

¹²¹ On the eschatological consequences see under Eschatology.

¹²² *Abot* iii. 14. ¹²³ קדושים c. iv. (on *Levit.* xix. 18). ¹²⁴ כלל נדול.

¹²⁵ See Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judenthums*, 1899, § 144. ¹²⁶ See *Guide*, I, c. 1.

¹²⁷ והיא מלאה כלו. ¹²⁸ עולם קטן. ¹²⁹ *Gen.* xlv. 12.

¹³⁰ i. 26. ¹³¹ והשם הוא האחד והוא יוצר הכל והוא הכל ולא אוכל לפרש.

¹³² See *Gen.* iii. 22. ¹³³ *Gen.* vi. 5; viii. 21.

youth."¹³⁴ But even the more advanced religious thought of the times which produced Job and the Psalms speaks of the natural sinfulness of man almost in dogmatic terms. "Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Behold, He putteth no trust in His servants; and His angels He chargeth with folly: how much more them that dwell in houses of clay."¹³⁵ "What is man, that he should be clean? and he who is born of woman, that he should be righteous? Behold, He putteth no trust in His holy ones; yea, the heavens are not clean in His sight. How much less one that is abominable and corrupt, a man that drinketh iniquity like water."¹³⁶ How can a man be just with God, or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold even the moon hath no brightness, and the stars are not pure in His sight: how much less man, that is a worm! and the son of man, who is a worm!"¹³⁷ This consciousness of the innate sinfulness of man which, in its higher and deeper character, was the consequence of the constant call to repentance on the part of the prophets and which ever after deepened Jewish piety, this sense of dependence upon the mercy and good-will of God, this low estimate of man—"for there is no man that sinneth not"—is voiced in the Prayer Book. "What are we? what is our life? what our devotion? what our righteousness? what our help? what our strength and what our power? What can we say before Thee, O Lord, our God, and the God of our fathers? Are not all the mighty as naught before Thee, and the men of renown as though they had never been; the wise as if without wisdom, and the men of understanding as if without discernment? For the multitude of their deeds is as empty as the primeval void, and their life is vanity before Thee. Indeed, the superiority of man over the animal is naught, for all is vanity."¹³⁸

¹³⁴ The text of *Gen.* iv. 7, is hopelessly corrupt; see the commentaries; but the end, even if spurious (that is, not from the pen of the Jahvistic writer, but of some editor or diaskeuast), was bound to become fruitful in later times.

¹³⁵ *Job* iv. 17 ff.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, xv. 14-16.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, xxv. 4-6. See also *ibid.*, xiii. 25 f; xiv. 3 ff. With the latter passage goes *Ps.* li. 7.

¹³⁸ *Closing prayer*, Day of Atonement; was Ulla bar Rab the author? See *Ioma* 87 b; at any rate it is a prayer of rabbinic times.

The innate sinfulness of man is almost hypostatized in the **יצר** of rabbinic theology, which, we know now, ascends into the times of Sirach (second century B. C.). The following account is based on the thoroughgoing study by Prof. F. C. PORTER.¹³⁹ It seems that there is an older and a more recent conception. The former understands by **יצר** without further qualification the natural impulse to evil to which God has given over man, but which it is man's duty to conquer.¹⁴⁰ The latter conception specifies the evil impulse as the **יצר רע** and opposes to it the impulse to good, the **יצר טוב**. The developed doctrine of the rabbis is summed up by PORTER as follows: "The result of our review is that in rabbinical usage the *yeṣer* is hardly other than a name for man's evil tendencies or inclinations, the evil disposition which as a matter of experience exists in man, and which it is his moral task to subdue or control. It does not contain a metaphysical explanation of the fact, a theory as to its source and nature. These evil inclinations go all the way up from sensual passions through anger and revenge to various forms of selfishness such as greed, deceit, and pride, and on the other hand to religious unbelief and idolatry. These propensities are deeply implanted in man's nature and are not due to his will, though the will can rule over them. They must, therefore, in a monotheistic view of the world, be ascribed to God's creation. Moreover, at almost every stage it can be seen that these inclinations are not wholly evil, but are in some sense necessary to human life and progress. Not only the impulse that aims at the continuance of the race, but also a measure of self-assertion, and even of anger and other passionate impulses, though they easily overmaster men and lead them to sin, are yet necessary to the life and progress of humanity in this world."¹⁴¹ But though a theodicy can(not?) rest on such consid-

¹³⁹ "The Yeṣer Hara: A study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies, Yale Bicentennial Publications*, 1902, 91-156.

¹⁴⁰ See *Ecclus.* xv. 12 ff.

¹⁴¹ See on p. 114 the quotation from *Genesis rabb.* c. ix: "Is the evil yeṣer then very good? Certainly, for without it man would not build a house, nor marry nor beget children nor engage in trade, as it says (*Eccles.* iv. 4): 'Then I saw all labor and every skilful work, that it is the zeal (rivalry) of one against another.'"

erations, the moral task of man is to control these impulses of his nature. For this end man has full freedom and is wholly responsible.¹⁴² Moreover, God has implanted good impulses and inclinations in men, to which they can, if they will, give the upper hand. God, however, has provided a definite remedy in the Law.¹⁴³ Against one who studies and observes its precepts the evil impulse has little power. Further, in answer to prayer,¹⁴⁴ the help of God may be gained in this struggle, which always remains a severe and uncertain one.¹⁴⁵ Men are sustained in this warfare by the belief that there is another world in which the evil impulse does not exist, and that the righteous enter this world after death, and that, hereafter, in the Messianic age, the powers and qualities of heaven will have exclusive dominance.” Both the evil and good impulse, it is brought out conclusively by PORTER, have their seat in the whole man. There is no trace in early or late rabbinic theology of the Philonian and Pauline distinction between matter, or the flesh, as the seat of sin, and spirit, or the soul, with which goes freedom from sin. LAZARUS’S¹⁴⁶ treatment of the subject, except for his identification of the Law with the moral law,¹⁴⁷ is accepted by PORTER. “When we turn to a consideration of human nature in particular, we find that it is nowhere regarded as innately unholy, impure and evil. . . . But the idea that man’s natural impulse is dual, that from the outset¹⁴⁸ the good impulse is found side by side with the evil one does not constitute the most important part in the rabbinical view of man; much more general and telling is the thought: ‘God created the evil impulse, but he also created the Torah, ethics, as a spice (medicament) over against it’ (Kidushin 30 b, B. bathra 16 a) . . . The Jewish view of the world in general, and Jewish ethics in particular, is everywhere grounded upon the actuality of existence and directed towards the actualization of the idea; in both, however, we meet always with soul and body in connection and in common activity.”

The possibility of man’s communion with God is apparently guaranteed by the doctrine that he is created in the image of God. On

¹⁴² See below under article 8.

¹⁴³ See under article 7.

¹⁴⁴ See the quotations from the Prayer Book on page 129.

¹⁴⁵ See below under article 8.

¹⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*, § 238 ff.

¹⁴⁷ On this see under article 7.

¹⁴⁸ See above.

this doctrine, as on a corner-stone, rests Jewish ethics; on this its chief theory, that of the perfectibility of man. Though God be infinitely pure, there is just a little of the Divine in man to urge him on to approximation to the ideal, to the *imitatio Dei*.¹⁰⁰ The standard passage is *Mikilata* on *Exod.* xv. 2:¹⁰¹ "I will be like Him:¹⁰² as He is merciful and gracious, so be thou merciful and gracious."¹⁰³

The second part of the article as framed above in Hebrew with a conscious leaning on MAIMONI partakes more of a theological than of an anthropological character; for it resolves itself into a doctrine concerning God in His relation to, and intercourse with, the world, but especially man. The Jewish conception of God has steered clear between a Deity lost in the world, or in man, and a Deity altogether outside the world and its concerns, or man and his concerns. To the Jew, God is at once far and near: "for thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit."¹⁰⁴ "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon Him, that call upon Him in truth."¹⁰⁵ "To be near unto God "¹⁰⁶ is the aim of the worshiper; "to be near unto God" is the *summum bonum* of the Psalmist.¹⁰⁷ "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee. My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is my portion forever."¹⁰⁸ The Jew feels the nearness of God; but he will neither humanize the Deity, nor deify himself. The Targum or the Greek Bible may paraphrase such expressions as might be taken by the people at large in their literal sense;¹⁰⁹ but that by no means proves that they were strangers

¹⁰⁰ Upon which Schechter repeatedly dwells, see *JQR.*, 8 (1895), 4; 10 (1897), 1, 2, 4.

¹⁰¹ = p. *Pe'a* 15 b; b. *Šabbat* 133 b; *Sofrim* iii. 13; *Sefer Tora* iii. 10.

¹⁰² See Rashi *Šabbat* 133 b s. v. *הוּא דומה*.

¹⁰³ See also *Sifre*, *עקב*, sect. 49: "As God is called merciful and gracious, so be thou merciful and gracious; as God is called righteous, so be thou righteous; as God is called kind (*חסיד*, *pious*), so be thou kind"; *Sifra*, *שמיני*, c. 12: "As I am holy, so be ye holy; as I am separated, so be ye separated (*פרושים*, *פרושים*)" (here, however, Israel is addressed), and the other passages adduced by Schechter. ¹⁰⁴ *Isai.* lvii. 15. ¹⁰⁵ *Ps.* cxlv. 18.

¹⁰⁶ *Isai.* lviii. 2; see Duhm.

¹⁰⁷ *Ps.* lxxiii. 28.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 f. ¹⁰⁹ See e. g., Targum *Isai.* lvii. 15; LXX *Ps.* lxxiii. 28.

to the spiritual experience of the nearness of God, of true communion with Him. To the rabbis, "God is near in every manner of nearness."¹⁵⁹ SCHECHTER rightly says: "Foreign metaphysics and theosophies, which crept into the schools, as well as angels of doubtful origin, which pleased the phantasy, but from which Judaism would have turned with abhorrence had it been conscious of their dogmatic consequences, facilitated this hypostatizing work." He refers to the hypostatization of expressions, like the Word, *etc.*, which were intended merely for softening down anthropomorphisms. To be sure, late as well as early rabbinic Judaism has a rich angelology and demonology; it is immaterial for our purpose whence they came, for, even if imported, they had become thoroughly assimilated; but, after all, angels and demons belonged more to the folk religion and were easily and resolutely brushed aside, as soon as it became apparent that they might become dangerous to the monotheistic idea. As SCHECHTER continues: "But amidst all these inconveniences, contradictions, confusions and aberrations, the great principle of the Synagogue, that worship is only due to God, remained unchanged. Into the liturgy none of the stranger appellations of God were admitted. 'When man is in distress,' says R. Judah, 'he does not first call upon his patron, but seeks admittance to him through the medium of his servant or his agent; but it is different with God. Let no man in misfortune cry either unto Michael or Gabriel, but pray unto Me (God), and I will answer him at once, as it said: Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be delivered.'¹⁶⁰ And so MAIMONI, although he believes in the existence of angels (to whom, however, he does not ascribe bodily form), formulates his fifth article¹⁶¹ so as to eliminate all mediatory offices in the communion of God. To invoke the aid of intermediaries is idolatry. This attitude remained the correct Jewish one in all strictly rabbinical circles except those under the influence of kabbalistic theosophy. While in the folk religion the "intercessor angel" was here and there appealed to, while the accusing angel found his

¹⁵⁹ קרוב בכל מיני קריבות, p. *Brakot* 13 a. See for further examples from rabbinic literature Schechter, *JQR.*, 6 (1894), 417 ff.

¹⁶⁰ *Joel* ii. 32.

¹⁶¹ See above, p. 28.

way into mediæval liturgical productions, the genuine rabbinic sentiment protested against any liturgical pieces in which poetic freedom might become the cause of misunderstanding.¹⁸³

(6) SELECT INDIVIDUALS ARE, FROM TIME TO TIME, CALLED BY GOD AS PROPHETS AND CHARGED WITH THE MISSION OF DECLARING HIS WILL UNTO MEN.

The sixth article of MAIMUNI'S Creed.¹⁸⁴ We include in our sixth article also MAIMUNI'S seventh in which Moses is proclaimed as the chief of prophets; for the two certainly go together, although for reasons to be set forth later the second was considered by MAIMUNI of sufficient importance to stand by itself as a distinct and separate dogma. Observe that, according to MAIMUNI, the gift of prophecy is not limited to Israel; it is for the select among humankind in general;¹⁸⁵ Moses, of course, was then the most perfect man.¹⁸⁶ The biblical doctrine concerning the nature and function of prophecy may be found in the reflections of the prophets themselves, and in theories developed in circles not necessarily prophetic and sometimes formulated as laws for the regulation of prophecy as an institution. Reflection, we have had occasion to remark, is very often the result of conflicting opinions. The oldest and correspondingly naive reflection we find in the legendary, but not untrustworthy account of the encounter between Zedekiah ben Chenaanah and Micaiah ben Imlah.¹⁸⁷ When the latter is brought before Ahab, and adjured to "speak nothing but the truth in the name of Jahve," announces, in contrast to the optimistic predictions by Zedekiah and his fellow-prophets, the unsuccessful end of the battle and the death of the king, he meets the king's taunt that he expected no good prophecy from him with the following words: "Therefore hear thou the word of Jahve: I saw Jahve sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right hand and on His left. And Jahve said, Who shall deceive Ahab, that he may go up and fall

¹⁸³ E. g., the *piut* at the close of the Day of Atonement in which one of the stanzas begins מִדַּת הַרַחֲמִים עָלֵינוּ הַתְּנַלְנָלִי "O Divine Mercy, plead for us!"

¹⁸⁴ אֶלְנַבְוֶה וְדַלְךְ בְּאֵן יַעֲלֵם אֵן הָרָא אֶלְנֻוֹ אֶלְאֶנְסַאנִי קִד יִזְנֵד פִּיהּ . . . וְאוֹלַיִךְ . . . הֵם אֶלְאֶנְבִּיָּא

¹⁸⁵ וְהוּוֹ צִפִּי אֱלֹהִים מִן זִמְיֵעַ לְנֻוֹ אֶלְאֶנְסַאנִי

¹⁸⁶ אֶלְנֻוֹ אֶלְאֶנְסַאנִי

¹⁸⁷ I Kings xxii.

at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth the spirit, and stood before Jahve, and said, I will deceive him. And Jahve said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And Jahve said, Thou shalt deceive him, and shalt prevail also: go forth, and do so. Now, therefore, behold, Jahve hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and Jahve hath spoken evil concerning thee."¹⁶⁷ Hence it is the spirit—hypostatized in this passage as one among the host of heaven—which communicates to the prophet the will and word of God. It is unnecessary to quote here other biblical passages which bring the Divine spirit into connection with prophecy (hence the word Inspiration).¹⁶⁸ But it should be noted that Micaiah does not appear to be dependent upon the spirit; in any case, his is the truthful spirit. There are prophets and prophets; the true prophet, in his struggle with the world and those whom he considers as false prophets, becomes conscious of the *differentia*, and he must, as he proceeds to reflect, find it in his own personality. Amos, who repudiates the title "prophet" when by it is implied that he is on a level with the prophets about the royal temple who live upon the charitable gifts of the people,¹⁶⁹ knows that the prophet's answer to the Divine call partakes of the nature of necessity. "The lion hath roared, who will not fear? the Lord Jahve hath spoken, who can but prophesy?"¹⁷⁰ No evil befalls a city, unless it is done by Jahve; and Jahve does nothing without revealing (גלה) his counsel to his servants the prophets." The prophet is therefore a premonitor of evil, a danger alarm.¹⁷¹ "I am a herdman, and a dresser of sycamore trees: and Jahve took me from following the flock, and Jahve said unto me, Go, prophesy unto my people Israel."¹⁷² And so it is with Isaiah: "in the sixth chapter of Isaiah the importance of which is sufficiently indicated by the subsequent imitations of Jere-

¹⁶⁷ Verses 19-23.

¹⁶⁸ See Smend, 422 f.

¹⁶⁹ vii. 12 ff.

¹⁷⁰ iii. 8. I do not accept Wellhausen's emendation, *Skizzen*, V (1893), 75; verse 7, although a correct exposition of the preceding verse, is apparently interpolated.

¹⁷¹ Similarly *Ezek.* xxxiii. 2-9; the prophet is "a watchman unto the house of Israel."

¹⁷² *Amos* vii. 14 f.

miah and Ezekiel, the prophetic activity is not described as an aggregate of sudden, unconnected affections on the part of the Deity, but is rather represented as the exercise in accordance with duty of a personal calling into which Isaiah is placed once for all, once he has offered his services. Amos conceived his activity as a mission; Isaiah draws the consequence and so regards his own as a calling. Amos separated himself from the professional prophets; Isaiah supplements Amos on the positive side and is on the way to found a new prophetic order on an ethical basis."¹⁷⁸ Impartial truthfulness and moral courage "to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin" are the tests by which Micah¹⁷⁹ knows himself as a true prophet, distinct from his *confrères* "who divine for money."¹⁷⁸ No one has given a sublimer expression to the conflict in the prophet's bosom between recoil from a profitless task which brings nothing but taunts and the relentless command of duty, than Jeremiah. "O Jahve, Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived: Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. I am become a laughing-stock all the day, every one mocketh me. For as often as I speak, I cry out; I cry, Violence and spoil: because the word of Jahve is made a reproach unto me, and a derision, all the day. And if I say, I will not make mention of Him, nor speak any more in His name, then He is in mine heart like burning fire, shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain."¹⁷⁹ In the name of Jeremiah and, apparently with some genuine Jeremianic *motifs*,¹⁷⁸ there is preserved a diatribe against the pseudo-prophets in xxiii. 16 ff. The true word of Jahve¹⁷⁷ is the preaching of repentance;¹⁷⁸ the prophecy of peace¹⁷⁹ is falsehood.¹⁸⁰ The true prophet alone has truly stood in the counsel (סֹרֵר) of Jahve;¹⁸¹ the lying prophets appeal to dreams¹⁸² which, in addition, they steal from one another.¹⁸³ "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What has the straw to do with the wheat?"¹⁸⁴ The canon

¹⁷⁸ Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 1875, 83.

¹⁷⁹ iii. 5 ff.

¹⁷⁸ xx. 7-9.

¹⁷⁹ See my forthcoming publication on the "Deuteronomic Phraseology in the Book of Jeremiah."

¹⁷⁷ Verse 28. ¹⁷⁸ Verse 22 b. ¹⁷⁹ Verse 17. ¹⁸⁰ Verses 16, 26. ¹⁸¹ Verse 22.

¹⁸² Verses 25, 28.

¹⁸³ Verse 30.

¹⁸⁴ Verse 28.

xxviii. 8 f.¹⁸⁵ according to which the prophets of evil (and, naturally, of repentance) need no credentials, while the prophet of peace must await recognition until the time when his prediction becomes true, substantially agrees with that in *Deut.* xviii. 21 f.; they are both products of allied circles.

Of a theorizing nature is, besides the chapter from Deuteronomy just quoted, *Num.* xii. where, in the form of a narrative, a contrast is drawn between the ordinary prophet to whom Jahve makes Himself known in a vision or to whom He speaks in a dream, and Moses. "My servant Moses is not so; he is faithful (trustworthy, the trusted servant who has access to all parts of his master's house and who is the confidant of his master) in all mine house; with him do I speak mouth to mouth, neither¹⁸⁶ in a vision, nor in dark speeches; the form of Jahve does he behold."¹⁸⁷ The E document, contemporary with the prophetic movement which produced Amos and Hosea, sees, no less than Hosea,¹⁸⁸ in Moses a prophet of the type of Amos and Hosea, one, though not necessarily the greatest, of the prophets. In the light of the evidence adduced above from the reflections of the prophets themselves, our interpretation of the passage in *Numbers* seems to be the only admissible one. Nor does the conception of the deuteronomistic writer,¹⁸⁹ *Deut.* xviii. 9 ff., differ. The writer, speaking *e persona Mosis*, prohibits all manner of divination and demands absolute devotion to Jahve.¹⁹⁰ Yet he would not leave the people without legitimate means of communication with the Deity. The prophet, among Israel, is to take the place of the diviner and sorcerer elsewhere. "Jahve thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him shall ye harken."¹⁹¹ This, according to the writer, in accordance with the Divine promise made to the people "in the day of assembly" in Horeb when, after hearing the voice of Jahve as He spoke to them out of the fire, they expressed their fear of future direct theophanies. It is exceedingly important to

¹⁸⁵ In a biographical chapter.

¹⁸⁶ So according to Ewald's necessary emendation; see Paterson, in Haupt's *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, 1900.

¹⁸⁷ Verse 7 f.

¹⁸⁸ xii. 14.

¹⁸⁹ The passage is evidently secondary.

¹⁹⁰ תמים תהיה עם יהוה אלהיך, verse 13.

¹⁹¹ Verse 15.

contrast our present passage with the account in c. v. While agreeing in the initial stages, each gives the end a different turn. In c. v. Moses undertakes the task of making himself, at the people's bidding, the organ of all future revelation; the writer is interested in marking off the Decalogue from the rest of the Law: the first was communicated by the Deity to the people "face to face,"¹⁸² while the Law came through the mediation of Moses.¹⁸³ In c. xviii., on the other hand, the future communications of the Deity are not given to Moses all at one time, but to Moses and his prophetic successors, from time to time. It is easy to see which of the two is the older and more in keeping with historical truth. In c. v. we have a dogmatic presentation which shall receive its due attention under article 7. In c. xviii. Moses merely opens the line of Israelitic prophets who are emphatically differentiated from the pagan magicians. *Deut.* xxxiv. 10 is assigned by different critics differently.¹⁸⁴ In view of the foregoing discussion, there should be no doubt that the verse is deuteronomistic; it represents the view of c. v. on the unique importance of the mediation of Moses. It goes without saying that, when once our Pentateuch assumed its present composite form, *Num.* xii. was interpreted in the light of *Deut.* xxxiv. 10. The process is then as follows: Moses first became identified with the newer prophets of the type of Amos, *etc.*; Moses and they all were conceived as of equal importance, each in his place in the prophetic succession; the developed ideas concerning God, *e. g.*, the dogma of His absolute Unity, were projected into the past and associated with the name of Moses; it followed with necessity that Moses was given the primateship and that the prophets, Amos and Hosea and Isaiah and Micah and Jeremiah and the rest, were considered merely as *interpretes legis Mosaicae*. Dogmatically correct, for Moses stands for absolute monotheism and all that follows therefrom; historically wrong, because the tendency is made to take the place of the developed form.

¹⁸² Verse 4; the following verse is clearly interpolated.

¹⁸³ See below under article 7.

¹⁸⁴ See the table in Bertholet's commentary, 1899, 112.

The Law demands obedience to the prophets,¹⁹⁵ except in the case of a prophet preaching the worship of foreign deities.¹⁹⁶ There is such a thing as false inspiration. Jahve may be testing the people's allegiance.¹⁹⁷ Obedience to God is placed above obedience to the prophets. A prophet like Isaiah demands implicit faith. "If ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established."¹⁹⁸ What the Deuteronomist calls obedience, the Chronicler¹⁹⁹ calls faith.²⁰⁰ The two things are but one: the one is an ethical, the other a religious term. And they run into each other: if a man has faith,²⁰¹ it is accounted to him as righteousness;²⁰² the believer,²⁰³ is the righteous man.²⁰⁴

Num. xi. 16-17, 24-30; xxvii. 15 ff. became in rabbinic and mediæval times fruitful sources of theories concerning the communication (emanation) (אציל) of the Holy Spirit.

PHILO's conception of prophetic inspiration is one of extreme absoluteness. BOUSSET²⁰⁵ quotes the following passage:²⁰⁶ "A prophet never says anything of his own; he is merely an interpreter. All that he brings forward comes to him from without. As long as he is in a state of inspiration, he is not conscious of himself, reason has departed and left the citadel of the soul behind. But the spirit of God comes and takes up his abode with him and plays on the voice as on an instrument and produces the sounds of the manifest declaration of that which he reveals." Moses is to PHILO the greatest of all prophets; the latter are but friends and associates of Moses.²⁰⁷

The Holy Spirit (רוח הקדש), prominent in rabbinic literature, is never hypostatized. While, on the one hand, the doctrine of inspiration held by the rabbis is quite mechanical,²⁰⁸ there are, on the other

¹⁹⁵ *Deut.* xviii. 15. ¹⁹⁶ xiii, 2 ff. ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4. ¹⁹⁸ *Isai.* vii. 9. ¹⁹⁹ *II* xx. 20.

²⁰⁰ See also the Targum *ad Isai* vii. 9. ²⁰¹ אמונה. ²⁰² צדקה. *Gen.* xv. 6.

²⁰³ צדיק. ²⁰⁴ אמוני. On the subject of faith more below (p. 106, footnote 5).

²⁰⁵ P. 126.

²⁰⁶ *De special. Legibus*, III, 8.

²⁰⁷ Bousset, 91.

²⁰⁸ Thus, e. g., Moses writes the account of his own death at the dictation of God, *Baba batra* 15 a, opinion of R. Simon; the same opinion in Philo and Josephus, Bousset, 126; contrast the rationalistic opinion of R. Judah (or Nehemiah), *B. batra*, *ibid.*, who holds that the last eight verses of Deuteronomy were written by Joshua.

hand, evidences of an insight into the personal element which enters into the prophetic inspiration. The prophet must be in a certain mental disposition which prepares the indwelling of the Divine spirit in him. "The Divine Presence" ²⁰ comes upon a man neither when he is in a state of indolence, nor out of grief, nor out of laughter, nor out of playfulness, nor out of idle talk, but out of religious joyfulness." ²⁰ With reference to the brevity of *Isaiah* vi. and the undue length and detailed character of *Ezek.* i. the rabbis liken Isaiah to a city man who sees the king, while Ezekiel is compared to a villager who sees the king: the latter is more attracted by the trappings and the little things than by the royal personality.²¹ "No two prophets speak alike,"²² though they may agree in substance."²³ In *Levit. rabb.* c. i. the rabbis clearly distinguish between the Israelitic prophets and the heathen prophets, and, again, between Moses and the rest of the Israelitic prophets. "God reveals himself (נלה) to the prophets of Israel with a full voice in a language of holiness and purity and clearness, in the broad daylight, as a man who goes in to his wife; not stealthily, by night, as a man who visits his concubine." "All the other prophets saw God through nine glasses, but Moses saw Him through one glass. Or, all the other prophets saw God through a soiled, unclear glass, while Moses saw Him through a clear, finely polished glass (איספקלריא מצוחצוחת)."²⁴ Moses is called the Father of the prophets.²⁵ The Sinaitic revelation where Israel saw God "face to face" ²⁶ is repeatedly glorified. It is considered as the source of all future revelation. "Whatever the prophets were to prophesy in the future was revealed on Sinai."²⁷ The period of the birth of the nation (conceived, of course, in its ecclesiastical aspect), in general, is regarded by the rabbis as that of revelation. "Neither Ezekiel nor the rest of the prophets saw God as well as a plain maidservant while crossing the Red Sea."²⁸ "In that hour (while stationed at the foot of Sinai) they saw what neither Ezekiel

²⁰ שכינה.

²⁰ *Šabb.* 30 b = *Psalm* 117 a.

²¹ *Hagig.* 13 b.

²² בסיונון אחד.

²³ *Sahn.* 89 a. A convenient harmonistic principle.

²⁴ *Ibam.* 49 b: איספקלריא המאירה: see *Sukk.* 45 b; on the meaning of the word *Tos. Iomtob* on *Kelim* xxx. 2; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, II (1899), 93.

²⁵ אבי הנביאים.

²⁶ מעמד הר סיני in post-talmudic literature.

²⁷ *Exodus rabba*, c. xxviii.

²⁸ *Mkilata*, Section of the Song, c. 3.

nor Isaiah saw."²²⁹ In the Prayer Book²³⁰ the Sinaitic revelation²³¹ is an important dogma; it occupies the third place, only preceded by the dogmas of God's Unity and Providence.

The communication of the spirit from man to man is likened to the kindling of one lamp by another;²³² the elders received their inspiration from Moses, but Moses was in no wise impoverished.²³³

MAIMONI'S conception of prophecy is laid down under articles 6 and 7, יסודי התורה, cc. vii-x, and *Guide*, II, cc. xxxii.-xlvi. He sympathizes with the philosophers who regard prophecy "as a certain perfection founded in the human nature; the individual, however, cannot attain to that perfection except by means of exercise which causes that which is potentially contained in the species to become actual, provided there be no obstacle arising out of the temperament or from some other cause."²³⁴ His opinion is emphatically opposed to the vulgar opinion which considers prophecy as a Divine gift without reference to the capacity of the receiver, or to his character; but he cannot accept the opinion of the philosophers to the extent of denying all Divine spontaneity in conferring that gift. "He who is morally worthy of, and intellectually prepared for, prophecy, may still go without it; the prophetic inspiration is in the nature of a miracle." "Know, that prophecy, in its true character, is an emanation of the Deity which through the agency of the active intellect, spreads itself first over the rational (logical, intellectual), and then over the imaginative faculty; it marks the highest degree of man and the acme of perfection to which the human species may attain, and this state is the highest perfection of the imaginative faculty. It is something which by no means need be present in every man, nor is it something at which one may arrive through the utmost attention to the speculative sciences or through moral perfection, no matter how high, unless there go with it the greatest possible perfection in the imaginative faculty."²³⁵ "Through instruction and moral training a man may greatly perfect himself, but he cannot attain the spiritual exaltation characteristic of prophecy; the prophetic faculty is not acquired, but is a free gift of nature with

²²⁹ *Ibid.* on Exod. xix. 11.

²³⁰ *Numbers rabba*, c. xxi.

²³¹ *Guide*, II, c. xxxii.

²³² *Additional*, New Year.

²³³ אלה ננצית.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, c. xv.

²³⁵ C. xxxvi.

which one is born. That power consists in making use of, and combining, the sensations which are conveyed by the senses and in inventing new mental pictures out of such combination; its greatest achievement is the cessation of the activity of the senses, the mind being absolutely given over to its own workings."²⁸⁶ C. xlv. enumerates eleven degrees of prophecy, one more perfect than the other. MAIMUNI emphasizes the use of symbols by the prophets; the ladder which Jacob saw, or the animals in the chariot seen by Ezekiel, and similar matters are boldly interpreted as mere symbols. The superiority of the prophetic inspiration of Moses consists, according to MAIMUNI, in four points. Moses prophesied while awake, and not in dreams; while the other prophets received the Divine message through the mediating offices of an angel, and hence were obliged to resort to symbolic language, Moses spoke with God "face to face and saw His very form," understood the Divine word in its absolute truth without the need of symbols; while the other prophets trembled or lost their bodily strength during the Divine inspiration, Moses stood firm, speaking to God "as one speaks to his neighbor";²⁸⁷ while the other prophets, prepared though they might be, were obliged to wait until the Deity was pleased to speak to them, Moses was at all times able to obtain Divine inspiration. Thus, while the other prophets were free, during the intervals between one inspiration and the other, to engage in worldly pursuits, the life of Moses was entirely devoted to the prophetic calling; hence he separated himself from woman and the like and fastened his mind wholly upon God and sanctified himself like the very angels. The signs and miracles performed by Moses were not for the purpose of proving his claim to prophecy; for all Israel was a witness of his prophetic communion with God immediately after the Sinaitic revelation. MAIMUNI, by the way, holds with the rabbis that only the first two commandments were heard by the people directly from God²⁸⁸ in the sense that the existence of God and His unity are capable of speculative proof and do not require prophetic inspiration; but even in the knowledge of those two fundamental articles

²⁸⁶ See Bernfeld's exposition, i. 301; see also 303 ff.

²⁸⁷ *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

²⁸⁸ *Makkot* 24 a.

they were not to be compared to Moses whose knowledge was of a different kind, the prophetic.²²⁹

(7) MAN IS SUBJECT TO GOD'S LAW.

I include in this article MAIMUNI's eighth and ninth, which are formulated so as to proclaim the Divine origin of the Law of Moses (Tora, Pentateuch) in its entirety as well as of its oral interpretation, and their immutability.²³⁰ The biblical conception of Tora (תורה) may be stated as follows. The priest is charged with the instruction of the people.²³¹ The priest's instruction is called תורה. But the prophetic instruction also is called תורה.²³² The priestly תורות (in the plural) were in the process of codification at the time of Hosea.²³³ The code of laws in E is called התורה והמצוה.²³⁴ Jeremiah knows of a written יהוה תורה.²³⁵ In the secondary parts of *Jer.*²³⁶ there may be a reference to a written תורה. The secondary parts of *Deut.* speak of a written תורה²³⁷ which is called ספר התורה²³⁸ and ascribed to Moses.²³⁹ The deuteronomistic writers equally speak of a written Law²⁴⁰ which is called ספר התורה,²⁴¹ תורת משה²⁴² or ספר תורה

²²⁹ See Bernfeld's exposition and criticism, 305 f.; Albo's criticism is summed up *ibid.*, ii. 49 f. On the use which Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* made of Maimuni's chapters on prophecy as well as on their differences see Joel, *Spinoza's Theologisch-Politisch Traktat auf seine Quellen geprüft*, 1870, 16 ff. and Bernfeld, ii. 545 f. It is important to know that Maimuni's implied and Abraham Ibn Daud's explicit, identification of the Holy Spirit with the "active intellect" was emphatically rejected by Judah ha-Levi, who regards the prophetic gift as a faculty for seeing spiritual things spiritually, with the "inner eye" (see Kaufmann, 202 ff.; especially 203, note 181).

²³⁰ See below (p. 51).

²³¹ *Hosea* iv. 6; *Deut.* xxxiii. 10; *Isai.* xxviii. 9; *Micah* iii. 11; *Deut.* xvii. 10 f.; xxiv. 8; *Jer.* ii. 8; xviii. 18; *Zeph.* iii. 4; *Ezek.* vii. 26; xxii. 26; xlv. 24; the quotations follow in the chronological order of the writings from which they are taken.

²³² *Isai.* i. 10; v. 24; viii. 16; xxx. 9; *Jer.* vi. 19 comp. ix. 12; xvi. 11.

²³³ viii. 12.

²³⁴ *Exod.* xxiv. 12.

²³⁵ vii. 8 comp. xxxi. 33 (32).

²³⁶ xxvi. 4; xlv. 10, 23.

²³⁷ xvii. 18; xxvii. 3, 8; xxvii. 58; xxxi. 9, 24.

²³⁸ xxix. 20; xxx. 10; xxxi. 26.

²³⁹ xxxi. 9, 24.

²⁴⁰ *II Kings* xvii. 37; xxii. 13; xxiii. 24.

²⁴¹ *Josh.* i. 8; viii. 34; *II Kings* xxii. 8, 11.

²⁴² *Josh.* viii. 32; *I Kings* ii. 3; *II Kings* xxiii. 25.

משה;³²³ the Mosaic authorship is thus indicated by the name; this תורה is identified with the book found in the temple,³²⁴ to which also the name ספר הכרית is given.³²⁵ A specific law is quoted therefrom.³²⁶ Its contents are alluded to *II Kings* xxiii. and there can be no doubt that the deuteronomic code (*Deut.* xii.-xxvi.) is meant; but usually they are summed up in the command to worship Jahve alone (the leading thought of the introductory speeches in *Deut.*). In *Neh.* i. 8 f., *Deut.* iv. 27; xxx. 2, 4, 6 is quoted as Mosaic; hence the writer whose language is full of deuteronomic reminiscences, but is beginning to show traces of Ezekielian and P phraseology (מסל!), had before him our entire Deuteronomy which he recognized as Mosaic. *Neh.* xiii. 1 quotes a law from Deuteronomy;³²⁷ the code is designated as ספר משה. In the same chapter Nehemiah makes war upon intermarriage; *Deut.* vii. 1 ff. is not quoted. The תורה of *Neh.* viii. and x. is clearly the Priest's Code; it is called תורת משה;³²⁸ but also תורת יהוה³²⁹ and תורת האלהים;³³⁰ *Neh.* x. 30 the Jewish community obligates itself by oath to obey "the Law of God which was given through Moses, the servant of God." What was said of the code of Ezra, was soon applied to the Pentateuch in its entirety which now consisted of the First Law (E and P) and the Second Law (D), together with the historical matter (JE and P) which was considered only as introductory to, and concerned with, the life of the lawgiver. The Pentateuch was to the Jewish community, in the times following Ezra, Mosaic and Divine.

What was the attitude of the prophets towards the "Mosaic" codes? Much has been written on the subject; hence a few words will suffice. In a paper entitled "Jeremiah a Protesting Witness of the Act of 621,"³³¹ I have tried to show that Jeremiah knew of the contents and introduction of the Josianic law book, but that he was a protesting witness. "There was indeed a 'far-reaching contrast between the men of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah.' To the pro-

³²³ *Josh.* viii. 31; xxiii. 6; *II Kings* xiv. 6.

³²⁴ *II Kings* xxii. f.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiii. 2, 3, 21.

³²⁶ *II Kings* xiv. 6 comp. *Deut.* xxiv. f.

³²⁷ xxiii. 4 ff.

³²⁸ *Ezra* iii. 2; vii. 6.

³²⁹ *Ezra* vii. 10.

³³⁰ *Neh.* viii. 18 comp. ix. 3; x. 29; comp. viii. 8.

³³¹ Printed in the *Proceed. of the American Philol. Assoc.*, 33 (1902), cvi-cviii.

phet this act of 621 was a compromise, a sowing among thorns.²⁵³ The soil should be broken up entirely.²⁵³ The people of Judah are called upon to circumcise the foreskins of their hearts.²⁵⁴ A reformation in externals will be ineffectual; a moral, spiritual regeneration is what the people are in need of. The right kind of law is one put in one's inward parts, written in the heart.²⁵⁵ Such, I maintain, was the attitude of Jeremiah towards the promulgation of the deuteronomic code. No wonder that the men of Deuteronomy were forced to look around for another sponsor of their undertaking. Huldah the prophetess gave the sanction which a Jeremiah was compelled to refuse.²⁵⁶ So the law of Deuteronomy was launched without the aid of Jeremiah. His was a different spirit. It was reserved for a younger generation to infuse it into the framework of the 'secondary' portions of Deuteronomy. It is those chapters that constitute what is best in Deuteronomy; there is much in them of the language and spirit of the great protesting prophet." The Law, so much we have learned through the labors of the WELL-HAUSEN school, was a compromise from its very inception. The opposition of the prophets (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah vi., Jeremiah) to the sacrificial cult is too well known to be treated here in detail. Their teaching *תורה* was very short, indeed. "Seek justice." "Jahve desires kindliness." "He hath told thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" But this simple law was evidently not practicable at the time of the introduction of the deuteronomic code. There was much to reform; to abolish the sacrificial cult was too radical a step and well nigh impossible; so the law of the single sanctuary was promulgated. And when the Jewish community was reconstituted after the exile, there was again danger of the extinction of the monotheistic idea; and so a wall, in the proper sense of the word, was built around the community and a new Law introduced which was destined to preserve the Jewish idea for centuries. But while the Law in its entirety was now obligatory upon the Jew, while its paragraphs, apparently

²⁵³ iv. 3 b.

²⁵⁵ iv. 3 a.

²⁵⁴ iv. 4.

²⁵⁶ xxxi. 33. The latter passage is, however, probably secondary.

²⁵⁵ *II Kings* xxii. 14 ff.

with equal seriousness, deal with divers concerns, ritual and ecclesiastical and political and moral and religious, the real and essential part of the Law which it took over from the preaching of the prophets was never lost sight of; nay, it was that which inspired the piety of the Psalmists, of Sirach, of Daniel. And it must not be forgotten that some of the laws were ideal from the very beginning, the product of souls whose main interest was to alleviate suffering and to crush ignoble selfishness. The Law made the Jew; it is probably responsible for many of his faults; but it also created his virtues and taught him, by a system of rigorous discipline, to subordinate his will to the will of God. The Law indeed was of immense pedagogical importance; and it led men unto God.

Ps. cxix. may be a very tedious one for fastidious exegetes.²⁸⁷ Few of them do it justice. The man who could thus sing of the Law must have penetrated to its very core. He loves the Law; it is his delight. It is better to him than thousands of gold and silver; he will speak of it before kings and not be ashamed; he rejoices at it as one who findeth great spoil; he will not forget it, though his life be constantly in his hand. And so it was with Sirach and Hillel and Philo and Jesus. Sirach praises the Law as the embodied wisdom of God. "All these things are the book of the covenant of the Most High God, even the Law which Moses commanded us for a heritage unto the assemblies of Jacob. It maketh wisdom abundant, as Pishon, and as Tigris in the days of new fruits."²⁸⁸ "Where there is much Tora, there is much life. If thou hast acquired the words of the Law, thou hast acquired the life of the world which is to come."²⁸⁹ "For PHILO the Law is the greatest miracle of God on earth, an image of the eternal order of the cosmos, incomparably better than all other laws of the world. All other laws and constitutions were doomed to an end: 'but his (Moses's) laws are firm, immovable, unshaken, sealed as it were with nature's own seal, and they have remained in force from the time in which they were written to this day. And there is hope that they will remain immortal into all coming time—as long as sun and moon and the entire heavens and the world abide. For though the people have

²⁸⁷ Duhm, for example; how different is the estimate of Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*,² 37)!

²⁸⁸ xxiv. 23 f.

²⁸⁹ *Abot* ii. 8.

experienced very great changes in fortune and misfortune, nothing, not even the least of the laws, was changed.'"²⁹⁰ Bousset also quotes from JOSEPHUS: "And even though we might be robbed of riches and our cities and other goods, there remains to us our immortal Law." "And did not Jesus, although he, inwardly freed from the fetters of the Law, removed religion out of the sphere of legalism, indignantly repudiate the opinion that he meant to destroy the Law and, in language which directly reminds us of Philo's words, give expression to his conviction of the eternal duration of the Law?"²⁹¹ It is needless to multiply examples from rabbinical literature which extoll the merits of the Law, or treat of its eternity.²⁹² I may be permitted to refer to SCHECHTER's articles in the *JQR.*, 8.²⁹³ Much has been said by Christian scholars about the evils of legalism; Bousset is, from a Christian point of view, not unfair; he recognizes the dangers incident to legalism which are, for that matter, those of all ecclesiastical piety and morality, but he finds much to commend. Much has been done by Jewish scholars to set legalism in its right light and to have it judged from the right perspective. The rabbis certainly took upon themselves the yoke of the Law and the commandments²⁹⁴ with gladness.²⁹⁵ And, while the rabbis insisted upon obedience to the lighter as well as to the heavier matters of the Law,²⁹⁶ the distinction certainly did not escape them. Hillel sums up the Law in the words: "Do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you"; all the rest is a mere commentary on this central injunction.²⁹⁷

The Pauline movement for the abrogation of the Law did not affect Palestinian Judaism to any large extent. It was an excellent

²⁹⁰ Bousset, 88.

²⁹¹ *Mat.* v. 18; *Luke* xvi. 17. Bousset, *ibid.* See, however, on *Mat.* v. 17 ff. Merx, *Das Evangelium Matthaeus nach der syrischen . . . Palimpsesthandschrift*, 1902, 72 ff.

²⁹² The abrogation of the Law is placed in Messianic times, מצות במלכות לעתיד לבא. *Nidd.* 61 b.

²⁹³ See above (p. 10, footnote 5).

²⁹⁴ עול תורה ומצות.

²⁹⁵ See F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums*, 1903, 43 f.

²⁹⁶ *Abot* ii. 1.

²⁹⁷ *Šabbat* 31 a. Similar sayings by Akiba and Ben Azzai have been mentioned above, p. 31.

help in the preaching of the Gospel on the part of the Apostle to the Gentiles.²⁶⁶ But Judaism was not much disturbed. The Law was and proved the element in which alone, at least for the following two millennia, the Jewish idea could safely live. The Mishna emphatically asserts the Divine origin of the Law and excludes from membership in the Jewish communion those who hold contrary opinions.²⁶⁷

On the theory of oral tradition we have a paper by Dr. G. DEUTSCH.²⁶⁸ Suffice it to say for our present purposes that the "tradition of the elders" and the interpretation of the rabbis were invested with equal authority as the written Law itself.²⁶⁹ The authority of the traditional law was communicated to its codification, the Mishna and Talmud. The revolt of the Karaites²⁷⁰ did not lead to a diminution of the authority of the Talmud among the Rabbanites, i. e., the bulk of the Jews.

And accordingly, MAIMONI, with absolute firmness, formulates his two articles dealing with the Law. He aims at the Christians; he aims at the Mohammedans; he aims at the Karaites. Every word in the Pentateuch is Divine; narrative and law equally authoritative and important; the name of the concubine of Eliphaz²⁷¹ as well as the Unity of God. He has the support of the rabbis.²⁷² He is equally firm about the Divine origin of the traditional interpretation. It is quite clear that, where a book becomes authoritative, there must be an equally authoritative interpretation. His views in detail may be found in his introduction to his commentary on the Mishna²⁷³ to which indeed he refers the reader. And, consistently, the same authority was given his code as well as the later codes and glosses. Thus, all the laws, written as well as traditional, are immutable, eternal. But it is just as certain that, although, as MAIMONI clearly says, so far as the practical life of the Jew is concerned, no difference must be made between kernel²⁷⁴ and husk,²⁷⁵ a difference was felt to exist between them; Jewish piety was fed, even in the

²⁶⁶ See Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 1902, book i., ch. v. ²⁶⁷ *Sanhedr.* x. 1. ²⁶⁸ *YB.*, 1897 (Conference of 1896), 129 ff.

²⁶⁹ For the beginnings and the testimony of Josephus see Schürer, II, 390.

²⁷⁰ Grätz, v.², chapter vii.

²⁷¹ *Gen.* xxxvi. 12.

²⁷² *Sanhedr.* 99 a.

²⁷³ Pococke, 1 ff.

²⁷⁴ לב.

²⁷⁵ קינר.

centuries of an unmitigated legalism, from the kernel and not from the husk. And that kernel, that essence of Judaism, was: to love God with the whole heart and the whole soul and the whole power and to do His will with a perfect heart.

(8) MAN IS RESPONSIBLE TO GOD, THE SEARCHER OF THE HUMAN HEART AND THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE, FOR ALL HIS THOUGHTS AND DEEDS; BUT HE WHO CONFESSES HIS SINS AND TURNS AWAY FROM HIS EVIL WAYS AND TRULY REPENTS IS LOVINGLY FORGIVEN BY THE DIVINE FATHER.

Corresponds to MAIMUNI's tenth (Providence)²⁷⁸ and eleventh (Retribution)²⁷⁹ articles. The idea of Divine Providence is brought out (in the formulation as adopted above) by the words "Searcher of the human heart";²⁸⁰ that of Divine Retribution by the epithet "Righteous Judge."²⁸¹ Responsibility ("man is responsible") implies the freedom of will.²⁸² We incorporate in our eighth article the correlate of Divine Justice—Divine Forgiveness. In view of the importance attached to Atonement in the system of Judaism—witness the institution of the Day of Atonement—, its omission from MAIMUNI'S Creed²⁸³ is a grave error. That God takes cognizance of human affairs and requites every man according to his doings are two familiar biblical thoughts. GUNKEL²⁸⁴ has his doubts as to whether the ancient Hebrews endowed Jahve with the attribute of Omniscience. Perhaps he is right. For GUNKEL has in mind the oldest Hebrew narrator of the Paradise story, not the Jahvistic writer. But we need not go down into late Jewish or rabbinic times²⁸⁵ to find

²⁷⁸ אנה תעאלי יעלם אפעאל אלנאם ולא יהמלהא.

²⁷⁹ אנה תעאלי ינאזי מן ימתהל אואמר אלתורה ויעאקב מן ירתכב נואהיהא.

²⁸⁰ *Jerem.* xvii. 10 and elsewhere.

²⁸¹ *Ps.* vii. 12 and elsewhere.

²⁸² The fifth article in the Creed of Crescas: Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 117; Bernfeld, 472.

²⁸³ and, for that matter, from any of the other Creeds drawn up after Maimuni; Crescas places the doctrine of Divine Mercy to the Penitent among those "which are expressed by certain religious ceremonies" (Schechter, *ibid.*, 118; 'אור ה', Vienna edition, 83 b ff.), but keeps it out of his six "fundamental beliefs."

²⁸⁴ On *Genes.* iii. 8-13.

²⁸⁵ See Rashi on *Genes.* iii. 9; iv. 9; xi. 5; xviii. 21; *Numb.* xxii. 9 and sources.

out the Jewish position on the subject; for the Bible brings us face to face with it in innumerable passages. *Jerem.* xxxii. 19²⁹⁶ is selected by MAIMONI as the most appropriate biblical quotation for his tenth article. "Great in council, and mighty in deed: whose eyes are open²⁹⁷ upon all the ways of the sons of men; to give every-one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings." "The heart is deceitful²⁹⁸ above all things . . . who can know it? I the Lord who search the heart and test the reins (inward impulses) to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings."²⁹⁹ "And render unto every man according to all his ways, whose heart Thou knowest: for Thou, even Thou only, knowest the hearts of all the children of men."³⁰⁰ "Jahve," says a psalm which now figures as the Song of Hannah, "is a God of knowledge;³⁰¹ a God who appraises³⁰² men's deeds."³⁰³ *Comp. Prov.* xxi. 2—xvi. 2 (with variations) and especially xxiv. 12: "He who weighs hearts, does He not perceive? He who observes thy soul, does He not know? and will He not requite every man according to his deed?"³⁰⁴ "O Jahve," sings the Psalmist, "Thou searchest me through and knowest me; Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine uprising; Thou understandest my thought afar off; Thou provest my going and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways; for there is not a word on my tongue, but Thou already knowest it all, O Jahve."³⁰⁵ "Jahve looks down from heaven, He sees all mankind. From His dwelling-place He beholds (הַשְׂגִּיחַ!) all the inhabitants of the earth; He who has fashioned the hearts of them all, who considers all their deeds."³⁰⁶ To the Psalmist, the wicked who trample God's people or who live in

²⁹⁶ From Jeremiah's prayer which is full of deuteronomic phraseology and apparently from the pen of some deuteronomistic writer.

²⁹⁷ See *Job* xiv. 3 a; observe the synonymous phrase in the second half.

²⁹⁸ LXX: deep ²⁹⁹ *Jerem.* xvii. 9 f. ³⁰⁰ *I Kings* viii. 39; deuteronomistic.

³⁰¹ All-knowing; so Briggs quoted in H. P. Smith's commentary *ad locum*; but though the rendering is undoubtedly correct, we need not fall back upon the so-called "amplificative plural."

³⁰² So read with LXX.

³⁰³ *I Sam.* ii. 3.

³⁰⁴ "'Heart' and 'Soul' here 'inward being,' or 'thought,'" Toy *ad locum*.

³⁰⁵ *Ps.* cxxxix. 1-4; the translation is that of Wellhausen-Furness; see also verse 23.

³⁰⁶ *Ps.* xxxiii. 13-15; the translation as above.

ease and comfort despite their deeds of violence seem to deny the Divine Omniscience. "They say: Jah sees it not, the God of Jacob notes it not. Be discerning, ye dullards among the people! Ye fools, when will ye get understanding? He who devised the ear, must He not hear? or He who formed the eye, must He not see? . . . Jahve knows that the devices of men are but emptiness."²⁹⁷ "And they (the wicked) say: How should God know it! or is there any knowledge in the Most High?"²⁹⁸ Eliphaz represents Job as a doubter in Providence. "Is not God in the height of heaven? and behold the topmost stars, how high they are! Therefore thou sayest, What doth God know? can He judge through the thick darkness? thick clouds are a covering to Him, that He seeth not, *etc.*"²⁹⁹ Elihu emphatically asserts the Divine Omniscience especially with regard to the punishment of the wicked. "For His eyes are upon the ways of a man, and He seeth all his steps. There is no darkness, nor deep darkness, where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves."³⁰⁰ The denials of Divine Omniscience to which the biblical writers allude are to be taken in a practical, not in a theoretical sense.³⁰¹ Yet, the fact that such questions are at all framed by the Psalmists or the author of Job shows that the religious thinkers of the day have become conscious of the thought of the Divine Omniscience upon which rests the doctrine of Retribution. The two together constitute the dogma of the Divine government of the world or of Providence which we may thus recognize as a living, conscious element in the religion of Early Judaism. The biblical term expressive of God's providential dealing with the world, mankind or the individual man is the verb זכר.³⁰² Another figure from

²⁹⁷ Ps. xciv. 7-9, 11; the translation as above.

²⁹⁸ Ps. lxxiii. 11; Duhm takes as the subject of the introductory verb: the great mass of the people; are we perhaps to read: ואמר, "and I said" I, the Psalmist, whose foot almost slipped (verse 2), i. e., who almost lost faith in the Divine government of the world, i. e., in Providence (see *Job* iv. 4)?

²⁹⁹ *Job* xxii. 12 ff.

³⁰⁰ *Job* xxxiv. 21 f.

³⁰¹ Compare our remarks above with reference to "the fool who says, There is no God" and Friedländer, *loc. cit.*, 482 f.

³⁰² זכר (opposite שכח) means to remember persons or their acts to their advantage or disadvantage (e. g., *Gen.* xl. 14, 23; *I Sam.* xxv. 31; *II Sam.* xix. 20; *Deut.* xxv. 17); similarly with God as subject, in either sense (*I Sam.*

Commercial language is the recording in writing.³⁰⁰ Hence the Book of Record (Remembrance)³⁰¹ in which are entered those who fear God.³⁰² Such books of record are opened when God sits as Judge.³⁰³ Like סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן is used of God's providential activity. "O Jahve, Thou knowest," prays Jeremiah, "remember me, and visit me."³⁰⁴ And Job longs for the moment when God would recognize, or justify, him, remember him.³⁰⁵

The book of Job presupposes the belief in individual retribution as the orthodox doctrine and an unquestioned dogma. "Sin leads to suffering; and conversely all suffering presupposes sin," was the acknowledged teaching, inherited from the fathers.³⁰⁶ "We have heard it,"³⁰⁷ says Eliphaz, "so it is."³⁰⁸ That sin calls for suffering and that piety is rewarded is indeed an old and general belief. But the doctrine of individual responsibility and individual retribution did not arise in Israel before exilic times. The Decalogue teaches that Jahve "visits the sin of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation, and shews mercy unto a thousand generations."³⁰⁹ This doctrine of communal retribution accords with the primitive conception of the community as a moral person. The pre-exilic prophets themselves view the nation as one, one in all its members, one in all its history. "Upon the ruins of the nation the individual became aware of his existence. He questioned the Divine justice according to which 'the fathers had eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth were set on edge.'³¹⁰ The situation was met with singular courage and boldness by the prophet of

i. 11; *Neh.* vi. 14; comp. *Gen.* viii. 1; *Ps.* lxxxviii. 6). Thus God remembers sins (*Ps.* lxxix. 8; elsewhere—*e. g.*, *Ps.* xc. 8—He is said to place them before His eyes; or to keep them (*Ps.* cxxx. 3) sealed up in a bag (*Job* xiv. 17; as one keeps valuables; the figure is borrowed from commercial language). But He also remembers affection (*Jerem.* ii. 2) or devotion (*Ps.* cxxxii. 1).

³⁰⁰ כֹּתֵב and synonyms, *Jerem.* xvii. 1; *Job* xiii. 26; the opposite is מִחָה "to wipe out" *Ps.* li. 11; *Neh.* xiii. 14 זָכַר is clearly a synonym of כֹּתֵב.

³⁰¹ סֵפֶר זִכְרוֹן.

³⁰² *Mal.* iii. 16. Hence also the Book of the Living or of Life; see the writer's article on the "Book of Life," *Jewish Encycl.*, vol. iii. ³⁰³ *Dan.* vii. 10.

³⁰⁴ *Jerem.* xv. 15.

³⁰⁵ *Job* xiv. 13.

³⁰⁶ *Job* viii. 8 ff.; xv. 18 f.

³⁰⁷ So point with LXX and the Syriac version.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 27.

³⁰⁹ *Exod.* xx. 5 f.

³¹⁰ *Jerem.* xxxi. 28 (29); *Ezek.* xviii. 2.

the exile, Ezekiel, who formulated the doctrine of individual responsibility and individual retribution. 'The soul that sinneth, it alone shall die: the son is not responsible for the sins of the father, nor the father for the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall save him alone, and the wickedness of the wicked shall fall upon his head alone.'"³¹⁴ It is obvious that *Jerem.* xxxi. 28 (29) f. is spurious. In *Deut.* vii. 9 f. we have a compromise between the old and the new: God's covenant of grace extends unto a thousand generations, but "He repays them that hate Him to their face," i. e., in their own persons and during their lifetime."³¹⁵ "Behold, the righteous are recompensed during their life, on earth: how much more the wicked and the sinner!"³¹⁶ Such is the firm belief to which the post-exilic writers cling. Yet not a few of them were sorely puzzled by the welfare of the wicked. Asaph reproves himself for the doubts into which he had almost lapsed. He comforts himself with the thought that fellowship with God is the only real good, which the godly man alone possesses. "Whom have I to care for in heaven? and possessing Thee, I have pleasure in nothing upon earth. As for me, to be near to God is my happiness."³¹⁷ And the sufferings of the righteous were quite as perplexing. The answer which the religious minds gave to their doubts—for belief in the Divine justice, nay, in God himself was at stake—consisted either in referring to the innate sinfulness of man³¹⁸ or by enunciating the doctrine that suffering serves a disciplinary, educational purpose.³¹⁹ They cling to the hope that, where a righteous man is suffering, a turn will come during his lifetime. "For though a righteous man fall seven times, he will rise again."³²⁰ His latter end will be greater than his beginning, his future more glorious than his past.³²¹ Thus piety conquers all doubts which experience

³¹⁴ *Ezek.* xviii. 20. From the writer's lecture on "The Central Thought of Book of Job" printed among the papers presented at the 1901 summer session of the *Jewish Chautauqua*, Philadelphia, 1902, 56-70.

³¹⁵ See also *Ezek.* xiv. 12 ff. (contrast *Gen.* xviii. 23 ff.). ³¹⁶ *Prov.* xi. 31.

³¹⁷ *Ps.* lxxiii. 25, 28.

³¹⁸ *Job* iv. 17 ff.; xv. 14 ff.; xxv. 4 ff.

³¹⁹ *Prov.* iii. 11 f.; *Job* v. 17 ff.; xxxiii. 14 ff. where the thought is developed that suffering is one of the means by which God reveals Himself to man, i. e., the righteous man, in order to save his life by inducing him to penitent submission and prayer.

³²⁰ *Prov.* xxiv. 16.

³²¹ *Job* viii. 7.

only too frequently suggests. The doctrine of earthly retribution is taught in Proverbs, in the Psalms, by Eliphaz and Bildad and Zophar and Elihu. It was reserved for the few deeper thinkers—the writer of *Ps. xlix.*,³²² Job,³²³—to transcend it. "It is in order to prove that a man may die a leper, and yet be an innocent man, that the book of Job was written." Conscience,³²⁴ that is, a man's opinion of his own moral character which condemns but also gives the approbation or recognition which others deny him, here—for the first time, as far as we know—asserts itself. "In his struggle with an unsympathetic world, Job is thrown upon his own little world; unable to obtain justification from his human friends or from God, he listens with concentrated attention to the voice within him, which says, Thou art right." "Job's insistence on his right estranges him, indeed, from God; but it is this stubborn defense of his innocence that throws him back into the arms of God. 'Even now my witness is in heaven, and He who is aware³²⁵ of my innocence on high.'³²⁶ To the witness within him is joined the Witness on high. But what if Job die before God's lamp is kindled anew in his tent? The problem centers about death, or about the destiny of man. The thought of meeting God, of seeing His face in a hereafter, is first³²⁷ put forth tentatively, as a mere possibility, a pious wish. The hope of man, as the belief in a future life is characteristically called, cannot be realized. But the thought is resumed again in c. xix. This time it is expressed more emphatically, more seriously, in bolder language. Job pathetically implores his friends: 'Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O my friends; for the hand of God hath touched me. Why do ye persecute me as God?'³²⁸ But his friends remain mute. There is no sympathy to be had from them. So he will carry the knowledge of his innocence to the grave. His conscience will die with him. There will be no vindication

³²² Perhaps also the author of *Ps. lxxiii.*; see Duhm.

³²³ See Duhm on ch. xix. and the writer's lecture on "The Central Thought of the Book of Job" referred to above—it was prepared March, 1897.

³²⁴ The Hebrew says "heart" (*Job xxvii. 6*); the Greek translation uses the verb (*οὐ σίνουδα ἐμυνην*, 'I am not conscious') corresponding to the noun 'conscience' (*συνείδησις*); see also the Greek of ix. 35.

³²⁵ Vulgate: *conscius*. ³²⁶ *Job xvi. 19.* ³²⁷ C. xiv. ³²⁸ Verse 21 f.

when once he is gone. There will be none to inscribe upon his tombstone the words: Here rests a pious man, although he died a leper. 'So my blood will be innocently shed.' 'Oh,' Job prays, 'let not a drop of it be covered by the earth; but let its cry go on unchecked until it reach some place where it may be heard; let it find an avenger somewhere.'³²⁹ 'Surely I know,' exclaims the sufferer, 'that my Avenger liveth, and upon my grave He will rise to testify, He who is even now my Witness in heaven. And when this my skin will have been worn away, and my flesh destroyed, I shall see God, receive His justification, His recognition, I, myself, with mine own eye, in my own person.'³³⁰ The belief in a future life, or the personal realization of God's love in a hereafter, is now enunciated as a firm conviction.'³³¹ The development of the dogma of a future life will be discussed below under Eschatology. For our present purposes it is sufficient to show how the dogma of individual retribution was re-formulated by the deeper thinkers of the Jewish community: not here on earth, but in heaven, not in this world, but in the world which is to come, is adequate, just retribution to be looked forward to. And we shall see that in its new form the dogma of retribution took firm roots in the consciousness of Judaism. In a conscious contrast to the scepticism of Ecclesiastes—the future life is doubted;³³² nor is much faith had in retribution—the Epilogue³³³ re-affirms the Jewish position: "For God shall bring every creature (?) into judgment concerning (?) any secret thought, whether it be good or whether it be evil."

Human responsibility implies freedom of action, free will. The call to repentance on the part of the prophets is rooted in the conviction that sin originates in the will of man. "Return ye (שׁוּבוּ), and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so they shall not be a stumbling-block of iniquity unto you. Cast away from you all your transgressions, wherein ye have transgressed; and make you

³²⁹ xvi. 18

³³⁰ xix. 25 ff.

³³¹ From the writer's lecture.

³³² *Ecccl.* iii. 21; the present pointing testifies to the hold the dogma had on the Judaism of Masoretic times.

³³³ Most probably spurious. Quite plausible is N. Krochmal's opinion according to which *Ecccl.* xii. 9 ff. was intended as the conclusion of the third section of the canon; see *מורה נבוכי הזמן*, c. xi., §8.

a new heart and a new spirit: for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord Jahve: wherefore turn yourselves, and live."²³⁴ "I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day," says the Lawgiver, "that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse: therefore choose (ובחרת!) life, that thou mayest live!"²³⁵ On the other hand, the Bible teaches that "a man's steps are ordered by God."²³⁶ "O Lord," thus runs a prayer in the book of Jeremiah,²³⁷ "I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in the power of man to direct his steps."²³⁸ The doctrine of man's freedom and of the foreknowledge of God do not appear to conflict.

The mercifulness of God is insisted on quite as much as the Divine justice. "This fundamental thought of Hosea, that the relation between Jahve and Israel is a relation of love and of such duties as flow from love, gives his whole teaching a very different color from that of Amos. Amos, as we saw, begins by looking on Jahve as the Creator and God of the universe, who dispenses the lot of all nations and vindicates the laws of universal righteousness over the whole earth; and, when he proceeds to concentrate attention on his people, the prophet still keeps the larger point of view before the mind of his hearers, and treats the sin and judgment of Israel as a particular case under the general laws of Divine government, complicated by the circumstance that Jahve knows Israel and has personal communications with it in which no other nation shares. Hosea has no such universal starting-point; he deals with the subject not from the outside inwards but from the heart outwards. Jahve's love to his own is the deepest thing in his religion, and every problem of faith centres in it. To both prophets the distinction which we are wont to draw between religious and moral duties is unknown; yet it would not be unfair to say in modern language that Amos bases religion on morality, while Hosea deduces morality from religion. The two men are types of a contrast which runs through the whole history of religious thought and life down to our own days. The religious world has always been divided into

²³⁴ *Ezek.* xviii. 30 ff.

²³⁷ x. 23

²³⁵ *Deut.* xxx. 19.

²³⁶ *Prov.* xx. 24.

²³⁸ Read הלך והכן.

men who look at the questions of faith from the standpoint of universal ethics, and men by whom moral truths are habitually approached from a personal sense of the grace of God. Too frequently this diversity of standpoint has led to an antagonism of parties in the Church. Men of the type of Amos are condemned as rationalists and cold moderates; or, on the other hand, the school of Hosea are looked upon as enthusiasts and unpractical mystics. But Jahve chose his prophets from men of both types, and preached the same lesson in Israel through both."³³⁹ While therefore the individual teachers in the Bible, in accordance with their particular bent of mind, emphasize either the Divine justice or the Divine love, the biblical teaching in its sum total is equally concerned with both. "Jahve, Jahve," thus it is proclaimed to Moses in a theophany, "a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy unto a thousand generations, forgiving iniquity and transgression of sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation."³⁴⁰ "Let the wicked man forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto Jahve, and He will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon."³⁴¹ The temple which Solomon builds is to be a house of prayer for the forgiveness of sins.³⁴² The Law provides in the sacrificial cult means of atonement.³⁴³ The levitical system of atonement culminates in the Day of Atonement. "In the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, ye shall afflict your souls, and shall do no manner of work, the homeborn, or the stranger that sojourneth among you: for on this day shall atonement be made for you, to cleanse you; from all your sins shall ye be clean before Jahve."³⁴⁴ "Have mercy upon me, O God," prays the Psalmist, "according to Thy lovingkindness; according to the multitude of Thy tender mercies blot out my transgression."³⁴⁵ "O

³³⁹ Robertson Smith. *Prophets*, 1895, 163 f.

³⁴⁰ *Exod.* xxxiv. 6 f.

³⁴¹ *Isai.* lv. 7.

³⁴² *I Kings* viii. 30 ff.

³⁴³ On the function of atonement primitively ascribed to all sacrifice and on the doctrine of substitution see Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2d edition, 237, 421.

³⁴⁴ *Levit.* xvi. 29 f.

³⁴⁵ *Ps.* li. 3.

Israel, hope in Jahve; for with Jahve there is mercy, and with Him is plenteous redemption."³⁶ And numerous other passages.

The account which JOSEPHUS gives of the dogmatic differences of Pharisees and Sadducees touches, in part, the doctrines concerning Providence and Free Will. The Sadducees "disbelieve in Fate altogether and place God outside the possibility of doing or foreordaining ought that is evil. They say that it is in the power of man to choose between the good and the evil and to do the one or the other according as it pleases him." "They deny that Fate exists; human actions, they maintain, do not come to pass through it. On the contrary, they ascribe everything to ourselves who are the authors of our good fortune, just as our misfortune comes to pass through our own imprudence." On the other hand, the Pharisees teach "that everything is dependent upon Fate and God, and that, while the doing of good and the refraining therefrom are largely in our own hands, there is nevertheless obtained in every human action assistance from Fate." "They maintain that everything is accomplished by Fate. Yet the human will is not deprived of its own activity, inasmuch as it has pleased the Deity that there should be a mixture and that to the decree of Fate there should be joined the will of man, whether for virtue or evil." "They say that certain things, but not all things, are the work of Fate; certain things are left to man himself, whether they should happen or not." SCHÜRER³⁷ has succeeded in divesting the account of JOSEPHUS of the strange expressions borrowed from the Greek philosophy of the day. The Pharisaic doctrine is on a line with the biblical thoughts referred to above. The official teachers of the Jewish religion have become conscious of the antinomy between the two doctrines of an Omniscient and Omnipotent God and of a Free Will. They, however, resolutely adhere to both. "Everything is fore-known (יָדוּעַ), but freedom is given," thus teaches Akiba.³⁸ Both are fundamental thoughts in Judaism. The Sadducee with his absolutely free will and the fatalist Essene are heretics. Over against the latter, human responsibility is emphasized; with reference to the former, Divine Providence is never lost sight of. "Consider three

³⁶ Ps. cxxx. 7.

³⁷ II, 392 ff.

³⁸ Abot iii 15.

things and thou wilt not fall into the hands of transgression: know what is above thee—a Seeing Eye, and a Hearing Ear, and all thy deeds written in a book.”³⁴⁹ The Book of Record is met with again and again in Targum, Prayer Book.³⁵⁰ “Thou art to render an account to God”³⁵¹ is a frequent phrase.³⁵² New Year is the annual day of judgment,³⁵³ when all creatures pass in review before the searching eye of Omniscience.³⁵⁴ In the Prayer Book, the day is designated as the “Day of Remembrance,”³⁵⁵ i. e., the day upon which God orders His providential government of the world. “Thou rememberest (זוכר) the deeds of eternity and visitest (פוקד) all creatures of the earliest times, before Thee all the hidden things are revealed and the multitude of secrets which are from the beginning. There is no forgetfulness before Thy throne of glory, nor is anything hidden before Thine eyes. Thou rememberest all the deeds, nor are any thoughts (?) concealed from Thee; everything is revealed and known before Thee, O Lord, our God, who watchest (צופה)³⁵⁶ and lookest to the end of all generations; for Thou bringest the decree of remembrance, that every spirit and soul be visited, that many deeds be remembered, and the multitude of (human) beings without number . . . For the memory of every thought (?) cometh before Thee, the deeds of a man and his visitation and the doings of the steps of a man, the thoughts of men and their devices, etc.”³⁵⁷ According to Rabbi Jose, God judges man every day; according to Rabbi Judah, every hour.³⁵⁸ The Divine Providence extends to the *minutiae* of human life. “No man strikes his finger below unless they so decree above.”³⁵⁹ Yet “everything comes to pass by the hand of Heaven, except the fear of Heaven.”³⁶⁰ On the

³⁴⁹ *Abot* ii. 1; see iii. 16.

³⁵⁰ See articles “Book of Life” and “Atonement, Day of” in the *Jewish Encycl.* ³⁵¹ אתה עתיד ליתן דין וחשבון ³⁵² E. g., *Abot* iii. 1. ³⁵³ יום הדין

³⁵⁴ *Roš ha-šana* i. 2; see Targum *Job* i. 6.

³⁵⁵ יום הזכרון comp. *Levit.* xxiii. 24.

³⁵⁶ *Comp. Prov.* xv. 3 and especially *Abot* iii. 15 quoted above (p. 61).

³⁵⁷ From the *Additional* of New Year's Day.

³⁵⁸ *Roš ha-šana* 16 a; *Tosefta* i. 13. On judgment after death and the day of judgment see under Eschatology. ³⁵⁹ *Hull.* 7 b.

³⁶⁰ *Brak.* 33 b and parallels; both opinions are given in the name of Rabbi Hanina.

other hand, "when a man enters to defile himself, they open for him the door; but when a man enters to purify himself, they assist him."³⁶¹

Rabbinic Judaism is equally conscious of the antinomy between the Divine Justice and the Divine Mercy (Love). The same Akiba teaches: "The world is judged in grace (בְּחֶסֶד), yet everything is according to the multitude of (good) deeds."³⁶² The dread of the Stern Judge is, indeed, alive in Judaism. "Know before whom thou art to render account: before the King of the kings of kings, the Holy One, blessed be He."³⁶³ BOUSSET³⁶⁴ quotes from the *Slavonian Enoch*:³⁶⁵ "As it is dreadful and perilous to stand before the face of an earthly king, how much the more is it terrible and perilous to stand before the face of the Heavenly King who rules over the living and the dead." And quite apposite are his two quotations from rabbinic literature. The following is put into the mouth of the dying Johanan ben Zakkai. "If they brought me before a king whose anger, when he is angry, is not an everlasting anger . . . , I should nevertheless weep; now that they bring me before the King of kings . . . whose anger, when He is angry, is an everlasting anger . . . and there are before me two ways, the one to the garden of Eden, the other to Gehinnom, and I do not know upon which they lead me, should I not weep?"³⁶⁶ "Woe unto us because of the day of judgment, woe unto us because of the day of reproof! If before Joseph who was only flesh and blood his brothers could not hold their own when he called them to account; how shall flesh and blood be able to stand before the Holy One, blessed be He, who is at once Judge and Plaintiff and sitteth upon the throne of justice to judge every man?"³⁶⁷ To acknowledge

³⁶¹ *Sabb.* 104 a and parallels.—p. *Pea* 16 b the question is asked, Do men fence up fences and open up breaches? And the answer is: When a man keeps himself from sin three times, God henceforth will keep him, that is, as Frankel explains, when a man has, by an effort of the will, habituated himself to abstention, it will require less effort or none at all for him to keep away from sin in the future; see Maimuni, תשובה, vi. 5.

³⁶² *Abot* iii. 15. See the commentaries for another reading.

³⁶³ *Abot* iii. 1; see *ibid.*, iv. 22.

³⁶⁴ P. 288.

³⁶⁵ xxxix. 8.

³⁶⁶ *Brak.* 28 b.

³⁶⁷ *Genes. rabb.*, c. 93.

the Divine justice even where it is difficult to reconcile the facts with it, is a religious duty.³⁶⁸ Of the truly pious the rabbis say that they never murmur against God's dealings,³⁶⁹ Job's well-nigh blasphemous reproaches are censured.³⁷⁰ The Mishna³⁷¹ discusses the question whether Job served God from motives of love (מאהבה); it decides in favor of Job. "Know before whom thou art laboring; and thy Employer is trustworthy to pay the wages of thy labor."³⁷² Yet "be not as the servants who serve their master for the sake of the reward; but be as the servants who serve their master without the expectation of reward."³⁷³ The rabbis ponder over the problem of the suffering of the righteous.³⁷⁴ BOUSSET's remark that "no Jewish pious teacher did or could utter St. Paul's proud word that the pious man glories in his tribulations (*Romans* v. 3)"³⁷⁵ is easily disproved.³⁷⁶ The very term "chastisements of love"³⁷⁷ is characteristic. In the passage quoted by PERLES³⁷⁸ the pious are said to act from motives of love and to rejoice in their tribulations.³⁷⁹

But over against the Divine Justice³⁸⁰ the Divine Mercy³⁸¹ is never forgotten. "If I create the world to be governed by mercy, its sinners will be many; if I govern it by justice alone, how will it abide? So I will govern it by both: would then that it may abide!"³⁸² Significant is the passage from p. *Makk.* 31 d.³⁸³ "Human wisdom, when asked, 'What shall be done with the sinner?', replieth, 'Evil pursueth sinners.'³⁸⁴ Prophecy replies to the same question: 'The soul that sinneth, it shall die.'³⁸⁵ The Law: 'Let him bring a guilt-offering, and the priest shall atone for him.'³⁸⁶ God: Let him repent, and he will be atoned for;³⁸⁷ for it is written: 'Good

³⁶⁸ צדוק הרין *Abod. zara* 18 a and in the Prayer Book.

³⁶⁹ *E. g.*, *Baba batra* 15 b. ³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 16 ab.

³⁷¹ *Sota* v. 5.

³⁷² *Abot* ii. 14; see *ibid.*, 16 where note the addition: "And know the reward which is for the righteous in the world to come."

³⁷³ *Ibid.*, i. 3.

³⁷⁴ צדוק ידע לו *c. g.*, *Brak.* 7 a.

³⁷⁵ P. 353 f.

³⁷⁶ See Perles, *loc. cit.*, 26 f. Bousset's rejoinder in his *Volksfrömmigkeit und Schriftgelehrtentum*, 1903, 12, footnote, is weak.

³⁷⁷ מרת אהבה *Brak.* 5 a.

³⁷⁸ From *Sabb* 88 b and parallels.

³⁷⁹ ערשין מאהבה ושמחין ביסורין.

³⁸⁰ מרת הרין.

³⁸¹ מרת הרחמים.

³⁸² *Genes. rabb.*, c. 12.

³⁸³ Quoted by Dr. Kohler in the article "Atonement" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

³⁸⁴ *Prov.* xiii. 21

³⁸⁵ *Ezek.* xviii. 4.

³⁸⁶ *Levit.* i. 4.

³⁸⁷ יעשה תשובה ויתכפר.

and upright is the Lord: therefore will He teach sinners in the way (of repentance).’ ”²⁹⁸ The liturgy of the Day of Atonement teaches the fundamental doctrine of the forgiveness of sins which comes to those who truly repent. In the *Closing Prayer*²⁹⁹ we read: “Thou puttest forth Thy hand to transgressors, and Thy right hand is stretched out to receive the repentant. Thou knowest that our end is to be food for the worm; therefore dost Thou make plentiful our forgiveness. According to Thy great mercy, have mercy upon us; for Thou desirest not the destruction of the world, but art a God of forgiveness, gracious and compassionate, long-suffering, plentiful in mercy and abundant in doing good; Thou hast pleasure in the repentance of the wicked, and Thou desirest not their death.” As for vicarious atonement, rabbinic theology is certainly not favorable to it. “Happy are ye, Israelites,” exclaims Akiba. “Before whom do you cleanse yourselves, and who cleanses you? Your Father in heaven!”³⁰⁰ By a play on the word מקוה,³⁰¹ Akiba furthermore brings out the idea that “as the fountain of water purifies the unclean, so does God purify Israel.”³⁰² “This doctrine,” says KOHLER, “which does away with all mediatorship of either saint, high-priest or savior, became the leading idea of the Jewish Atonement.” We ignore a large part of the rabbinic teaching if we say with BOUSSET³⁰³ that “the foundation of Jewish piety is nevertheless the conviction of the disinterested, impartial justice of the Omnipotent God which pronounces judgment upon every man in accordance with his deeds. The grace and goodness of God is never the foundation of the religion, but a mere supplement or annex, a last resort of which, however, the pious man is never quite certain.” It may be conceded that Judaism is very jealous of its doctrine of retribution. It remembers indeed that a world governed according to mercy will produce sinners. The history of the Church proves that, where the doctrine of grace was emphasized in a one-sided manner, morality was re-

²⁹⁸ *Ps.* xxv. 8. See for further rabbinic illustrations of the doctrine of atonement Dr. Kohler's article referred to and the writer's article "Atonement, Day of" in the same publication.

²⁹⁹ Referred to above (p. 32).

³⁰⁰ *Ioma* viii. 9.

³⁰¹ *Jerem.* xiv. 8: "hope" or "fountain."

³⁰² *Ioma* viii. 9.

³⁰³ P. 366.

laxed.³⁹⁴ But Judaism equally teaches that a world governed by strict justice alone cannot subsist. Justice and Grace—both are fundamental conceptions in Judaism. It may be said that New Year emphasizes the former, the Day of Atonement the latter. Between them are the penitential days, that is, Repentance. And, since Judaism regards the annual day of judgment as a symbol of the Divine justice which is exercised continually,³⁹⁵ it confronts the Jew with the admonition: Repent every day of thy life, for tomorrow thou mayest die.³⁹⁶ To spend one hour in repentance and good works is better than all the life of the world to come.³⁹⁷ But the opportunity for repentance is a privilege which may be withheld from the undeserving.³⁹⁸

The problem of the antinomy of the Divine Providence (Omniscience, the Divine Cause behind every human act) and Free Will occupied the attention of the mediæval Jewish philosophers from the time of SAADIA. MAIMUNI devotes to the subject several chapters of his *Guide*.³⁹⁹ "The theory of man's perfectly free will is one of the fundamental principles of the Law of our teacher Moses . . . According to this principle man does what is in his power to do, by his nature, his choice,⁴⁰⁰ and his will . . . All species of irrational animals likewise move by their own free will. This is the will of God; that is to say, it is due to the eternal divine will that all living beings should move freely, and that man should have power to act according to his will or choice within the limits of his capacity . . . An equally fundamental principle is that wrong cannot be ascribed to God in any way whatever; all evils and afflictions as well as all kinds of happiness of man . . . are the results of strict judgment that admits no wrong whatever."⁴⁰¹ MAIMUNI'S theory is that "in the lower or sublunary portion of the Universe Divine Providence⁴⁰² does not extend to the individual members of

³⁹⁴ See e. g., Harnack, *loc. cit.*, 160.

³⁹⁵ See above (p. 62).

³⁹⁶ *Šabbat* 153 a.

³⁹⁷ *Abot* iv. 17.

³⁹⁸ See Maimuni, תשובה, c. iv. and sources and below under Eschatology.

³⁹⁹ *Guide*, III, c. xvi ff. See also the shorter treatment in תשובה, c. v. f.; see Bernfeld's exposition, i. 289 ff.

⁴⁰⁰ ובבחרתו, ובאכתיארה.

⁴⁰¹ C. xvii.; Friedländer's translation.

⁴⁰² ההשגחה האלהית, אלענאיה אלאלהיה.

Species except in the case of mankind . . . Divine Providence is Connected with Divine intellectual influence, and the same beings which are benefited by the latter so as to become intellectual, and to comprehend things comprehensible to rational beings, are also under the control of Divine Providence, which examines all their deeds with a view of rewarding or punishing them.'⁴⁰⁶ From the premise that Divine Providence manifests itself to intellectual beings as an intellectual influence, MAIMUNI concludes that "the greater the proportion which a person has obtained of this Divine influence, on account of both his physical predisposition and his training, the greater must also be the effect of Divine Providence upon him, for the action of Divine Providence is proportional to the endowment of intellect."⁴⁰⁷ "The greater the human perfection a person has attained, the greater the benefit he derives from Divine Providence. This benefit is very great in the case of the prophets, and varies according to the degree of their prophetic faculty; as it varies in the case of pious and good men according to their piety and uprightness."⁴⁰⁸ But how is human freedom to be reconciled with the absolute foreknowledge and omniscience of the Deity? The answer is: "The fact that God knows things while in a state of possibility, when their existence belongs to the future, does not change the nature of the possible in any way . . . The knowledge of the realization of one of several possibilities does not yet effect that realization . . . The great doubt that presents itself to our mind is the result of the insufficiency of our intellect."⁴⁰⁹ The Divine knowledge is totally different from human knowledge. "Is there anything else common to both besides the mere name? According to our theory that God's knowledge is not different from His essence, there is an essential distinction between His knowledge and ours, like the distinction between the substance of the heavens and that of the earth. The prophets have clearly expressed it."⁴¹⁰ In short, as we cannot accurately comprehend His essence, and yet we know that His existence is most perfect, free from all admixture of deficiency, change, or passiveness, so we have no correct notion of His knowledge, because it is nothing but His essence, and yet we are convinced that He does not at one time obtain knowledge which He had not before; *i. e.*, He obtains no new knowledge, He does

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰⁷ C. xviii. ⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰⁹ C. xx. ⁴¹⁰ He quotes *Isai.* lv. 8 f.

not increase it, and it is not finite; nothing of all existing things escapes His knowledge, but their nature is not changed thereby; that which is possible remains possible.⁴⁰⁸ Thus MAIMUNI resorts to the argument of the Incomprehensibility of the Divine Essence⁴⁰⁹ in order to solve the momentous question of the relation of human freedom to Divine Providence and Prescience. ABRAHAM BEN DAVID⁴¹⁰ regards his effort as a weak solution of a difficult question. But MAIMUNI is to be commended for resolutely brushing aside the fatalistic doctrines of some Mohammedan theologians.⁴¹¹ Jewish ethics is rooted in the doctrine of human responsibility, that is, human freedom. Man is free to choose his conduct; man is free to sin; man is also free to repent and thus to be saved from the consequences of sin. MAIMUNI has also some very fine remarks on the futility of the arguments of the pessimists.⁴¹² MAIMUNI discards the view that the universe was created for the sake of man. "We remain firm in our belief that the whole Universe was created in accordance with the will of God, and we do not inquire for any other cause or object. Just as we do not ask what is the purpose of God's existence, so we do not ask what was the object of His will, which is the cause of the existence of all things with their present properties, both those that have been created and those that will be created."⁴¹³ MAIMUNI translates *Prov.* xvi. 4: "The Lord hath made everything for His purpose."⁴¹⁴

D. ESCHATOLOGY (that is, doctrines concerning the hope and destiny of man; the term, of course, properly indicates the teaching concerning the final condition of humanity and of the world, the fate of the individual entering into account only in so far as he necessarily shares the destiny of the larger aggregate of which he is a part.⁴¹⁵ BÖKLEN⁴¹⁶ distinguishes between eschatology in the proper

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.* ⁴⁰⁹ See above (p. 14). ⁴¹⁰ Ad תשובה v. 5. ⁴¹¹ מפשי אומות העולם

⁴¹² *Guide*, III, c. xi. f., c. xxii. ff.

⁴¹³ C. xiii.

⁴¹⁴ The discussion of the post-Maimunian Jewish philosophers on the subject of Divine Providence and Free Will may be found in the second volume of Bernfeld's work. See also article "Free Will" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

⁴¹⁵ So Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, 1903, 1, and Dr. Kahler, art. "Eschatology" in the *Jewish Encycl.*

⁴¹⁶ *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie*, 1902, 8.

sense and the teaching concerning the fate of the individual souls after death; but he finds that the two run into one another and are not always separable; he therefore treats them both under eschatology. It will be shown below how, in the course of the development of the eschatological dogma, the fate of the individual assumes such importance as to completely overshadow the questions concerning the world "at the end of days." In its last restatement, the eschatological dogma is concerned primarily with the individual, that is, is really psychological):

(9) THE PIOUS WHO IN THIS LIFE OBEY GOD'S LAW AND DO HIS WILL WITH A PERFECT HEART AND THOSE WHO TRULY REPENT SHALL, WHEN FREED FROM THEIR BODIES, AS IMMORTAL SOULS, ENJOY THE SPIRITUAL VISION OF GOD IN HIS OWN WORLD. TO BE DEBARRED FROM THIS BLISS MEANS ETERNAL DAMNATION.

MAIMONI'S thirteenth article: The Resurrection of the Dead, תחיית המתים. The fate of the individual after death, according to the conceptions of ancient Israel, is described by SCHWALLY,⁴⁷ BERTHOLET,⁴⁸ CHARLES.⁴⁹ "Death means (to the ancient Hebrews) an end of the earthly life, not the cessation of all existence: the person still subsists. The soul leaves the body in death (apparently), at least on the appearance of corruption. The soul therefore also dies. Its death, however, is not absolute. The departed possess a certain degree of self-consciousness and the power of speech and movement; a large measure of knowledge; acquaintance with the affairs of their living descendants and a keen interest in their fortunes; ability to forecast the future; the power of helping or injuring their descendants. The departed is introduced into the society of his ancestors. The abode of this society is the family grave or its immediate neighborhood. With the consolidation of single families into clans or tribes, and of these tribes in due time into the nation, all the graves of the tribe or nation are united in one. Sheol, at first the abode of the departed of the tribe or nation, be-

⁴⁷ *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892, c. i.

⁴⁸ *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode* (a popular account), 1899.

⁴⁹ Art. "Eschatology" in the *Encycl. Biblica*, 1901, §§1-21.

comes at a later stage the final abode of all mankind, 'the house of meeting for all the living.'⁴²⁰ Upon the view just presented rests the worship of ancestors or the dead generally, with which, as a survival from an older and quite primitive form of religion, Jahvism from its inception engages in irreconcilable strife. The cult of the dead with all the appertaining customs belongs rather to the folk religion. There is a later view, in part due to the protest of Jahvism, according to which death ensues on the removal of the 'spirit' to the presence of which is due the life of the 'soul.' Death, however, even here does not imply annihilation: the 'soul' still subsists in some sense. The subsistence, however, is purely shadowy and negative: all the faculties are suspended. The departed, moreover, are conceived as possessing not only a soul but also a shadowy body. The 'shades!' "⁴²¹ The prophetic religion was not concerned with the fate of the individual: its eschatology is therefore purely national, it centers in the future national blessedness during the Messianic period and will accordingly be outlined below under article 10. The rise of individualism has been referred to above;⁴²² also the beginnings of the hope in a future existence.⁴²³ But only the beginnings. "The doctrine of an individual immortality failed to establish itself in the Old Testament. But the fate of the individual was now woven into the destiny of the nation. The two questions came to be regarded as essentially related. The righteous individual and the righteous nation must be blessed together—or rather the righteous man must ultimately be recompensed, not with a solitary immortality in heaven or elsewhere, but with a blessed resurrection life with his brethren in the coming Messianic kingdom."⁴²⁴ The doctrine of a resurrection is enunciated *Isai.* xxvii. 1-19 and *Dan.* xii.⁴²⁵ "Thy dead shall arise; the inhabitants of the dust shall awake, and shout for joy; for a dew of light is Thy dew, and to life shall the earth bring the shades."⁴²⁶ "And at that time (when the world-power is overthrown) shall Michael stand up, the great

⁴²⁰ *Job* xxx. 23.

⁴²¹ Reproduced from the above mentioned authors, but chiefly from Charles.

⁴²² P. 55 f.

⁴²³ P. 57 f.

⁴²⁴ Charles, *loc. cit.*, § 49.

⁴²⁵ The date of the former passage is uncertain: see Duhm's commentary and Cheyne's *Introduction*.

⁴²⁶ *Isai.* xxvi. 19; Cheyne's text and translation.

prince which standeth for the children of thy people (the patron-angel of Israel) : and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time : and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book (the 'register of the citizens of the Messianic kingdom'). And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life,⁴²⁷ and some to reproaches and everlasting abhorrence. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament (be eternally glorified) ; and they that make the many righteous (by warning, exhortation, and example of constancy) as the stars for ever and ever."⁴²⁸ The resurrection here ushers in the Messianic era ; the " many " who rise are the martyrs and apostates, the former for an everlasting life, the latter for an everlasting doom. " Thou, miscreant," says the second of the seven martyr-brothers to his tormentor, " dost take away from us this present life, but the King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for His laws, unto an eternal renewal of life (*eis aiōnion ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς*)."⁴²⁹ Judas sent to Jerusalem an expiatory offering on behalf of those who had fallen in battle and with whom heathenish amulets had been found, " doing therein right well and excellently, in that he took thought for the resurrection. For if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and foolish to pray for the dead. Then he looked unto the glorious reward laid up for them who die in godliness : a holy and godly thought ! wherefore he made the propitiation for them that had died that they might be released from their sin."⁴³⁰ The hope of the resurrection is by and by extended to the righteous in general.⁴³¹ According to JOSEPHUS⁴³² the Pharisees taught that " every soul is

⁴²⁷ חיי עולם.

⁴²⁸ *Dan.* xii. 1-3. The translation and interpretation from Driver's commentary.

⁴²⁹ *II Macc.* vii. 9 ; see also verses 11, 14, 23, 29.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, xii. 43 ff.

⁴³¹ See the references to the apocalyptic literature in Volz, *loc. cit.*, 240 ff. In *Luke* xiv. 14, " the resurrection of the just " is spoken of ; comp. *ibid.*, xx. 36 where those worthy of the resurrection are spoken of as " sons of the resurrection."

⁴³² Schürer, II, 391.

imperishable; but only the souls of the good are transferred to another body, while those of the wicked are subjected to everlasting punishment;" or, as it reads in another passage, "they believe that the souls possess an immortal faculty, and that under the ground there are punishments and rewards for them who during their life devoted themselves to virtue or to wickedness—an eternal prison for the ones, but for the others the possibility of a return to life."⁴³ On the other hand, in several apocalyptic writings a general resurrection for the righteous and wicked is spoken of.⁴⁴ The belief in the resurrection which, as we saw above, is nascent in a few Psalms and in Job and viewed skeptically in Ecclesiastes, thus becomes one of the chief elements in the apocalyptic visions of the future; rejected by the Sadducees (according to the testimony of JOSEPHUS, the New Testament and the rabbis), it is an undisputed dogma in the Pharisaic schools. "He who says that there is no resurrection⁴⁵ will not participate in the everlasting life (and hence is no Jew)."⁴⁶ In the Prayer Book God is invoked as "the Mighty One, who bringeth the dead back to life with great mercy and keepeth faith with those who sleep in the dust (a reminiscence from *Dan.*)."⁴⁷ Compare also the prayer:⁴⁸ "My God, the soul (נִשְׁמָה 'breath') which Thou hast given unto me is pure. Thou hast created it, Thou hast formed it, Thou hast breathed it into me,"⁴⁹ Thou keepest it in my body and, some day, Thou wilt take it from me, but restore it unto me in the time which is to come."⁵⁰ Note the strictly individualistic tone.

The belief in resurrection has been assumed by some scholars to

⁴³ Compare also the passage from *c. Apion.* quoted by Bousset, 259, footnote 1.

⁴⁴ For references see Volz, 243 ff.

⁴⁵ On the addition מִן הַתּוֹרָה see Schechter, *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 56, footnote 1; the words, if retained, might be freely, yet correctly, translated "as an element of the Jewish religion."

⁴⁶ *Sanh.* x. 1. For mishnic-talmudic references to the subject see Castelli, "The Future Life in Rabbinical Literature," *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 319 ff. and Volz, *loc. cit.*, 246 ff., who rightly points out that it is not always easy to ascertain whether in them a partial (so clearly *Ta'anit* 7 a) or general resurrection is presupposed. See, however, below (p. 74 f.).

⁴⁷ In the second of the *Eighteen Benedictions.* ⁴⁸ Taken from *Brak.* 60 b.

⁴⁹ *Genes.* ii. 7.

⁵⁰ לַעֲתִיד לָבוֹא, eschatological term.

be of foreign, in particular, Persian, origin. The latest statement of the problem and its solution along the lines just indicated may be found in the concluding chapter of BOUSSET's work frequently quoted above. Dr. KOHLER, in the article referred to, likewise speaks of Persian influences. The question, to say the least, is an open one. See BÖCKLEN's monograph referred to above. But whether the belief originated from within, along the lines of internal development (so CHARLES; also WELLHAUSEN!), or came from without, it was, it may be clearly seen, thoroughly assimilated and became an important part of the body of Jewish doctrines subject, of course, to future re-formulation.

The Day of Judgment represents a development from the earlier "Day of Jahve." In Jahvism, *i. e.*, the pre-prophetic stage of the religion, the term stood for a day when Jahve came to do battle for his people and to grant them victory.⁴⁴¹ To this popular conception Amos⁴⁴² opposed his own idea of a day of judgment upon the doomed nation.⁴⁴³ In other words: Amos, no less than the people, looks upon the coming day of Jahve as the day upon which Jahve will manifest himself in His Divine majesty; but the prophet goes his own way in that for him the assertion of the Divine majesty consists in the vindication of His absolute righteousness against a sinful people. The "Day of Jahve" thus assumes an ethical, supranational aspect. To Isaiah⁴⁴⁴ it is likewise a day upon which all that is high and lofty, whether in nature or made by man, cedars and oaks and mountains and hills, towers and citadels and ships and palaces, shall be made low, the nothingness of human power and pride become manifest and Jahve alone be recognized as exalted. "In the same measure, however, as Israel suffers defeat at the hand of the great world-powers, the Day of the Lord in the prophetic conception becomes a day of wrath for the heathen world and of triumph for Israel."⁴⁴⁵ The destruction of the arch-enemy of God's people (Gog and Magog, the Antichrist, *etc.*) is to precede the Messianic era. See the description of the scene of judgment *Dan*. vii. 9 ff. In the later apocalyptic literature and in rabbinic

⁴⁴¹ See Robertson Smith, *Prophets*, 398.

⁴⁴² v. 18 ff.

⁴⁴³ ii. 12 ff.

⁴⁴⁴ Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, V (1893), 82, 94.

⁴⁴⁵ Art. "Eschatology," *Jew. Encycl.*

writings we meet with the Last Judgment proper which is placed at the end of this aeon after the resurrection and before the regeneration of the world.⁴⁴⁶ "The soul is restored to the body, and both are judged together."⁴⁴⁷ The Mishna⁴⁴⁸ enumerates certain generations which are excluded even from the resurrection leading up to the judgment;⁴⁴⁹ others are again to rise, but will be condemned in judgment and thus excluded from eternal life;⁴⁵⁰ the righteous will be rewarded with the life everlasting. According to the school of Shammai "those who come up for judgment⁴⁵¹ will be divided into three classes, the thoroughly just, the thoroughly wicked, and those who are intermediate: the thoroughly pious will forthwith be written (into the Book of Life)⁴⁵² for the life everlasting;⁴⁵³ the perfectly wicked will be inscribed (in a corresponding book) for Hell (Gehinnom),⁴⁵⁴ the intermediates will descend into Hell and chirp (cry)⁴⁵⁵ and go up again;⁴⁵⁶ it is with reference to them that Hannah said: 'The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: He bringeth down to Sheol, and bringeth up.'⁴⁵⁷ But the school of Hillel says: 'And plenteous in mercy,'⁴⁵⁸ that means, He inclines (the balance) towards mercy (hence the intermediates do not descend to Hell); with reference to them David said: 'I love the Lord, because He hath heard my voice, etc.'⁴⁵⁹ But Jews who sin with their body, and the Gentiles who sin with their body, will go down into Hell and be judged (punished) there for twelve months, after which their body will be wasted and their soul burned and the ashes scattered by the wind under the soles of the feet of the just.⁴⁶⁰ The heretics⁴⁶¹ and informers and the Epicureans who say that there is no (Divine) Law and no resurrection and those who segregate themselves from the com-

⁴⁴⁶ See Volz, 247 ff. ⁴⁴⁷ *Sanh.* 91 b. ⁴⁴⁸ *Sanh.* x. 3. ⁴⁴⁹ אין עומדין כרין.

⁴⁵⁰ אין להם חלק רעורם הכא.

⁴⁵¹ ליום הרין, the Last Judgment is meant; see Rashi.

⁴⁵² See above (p. 55, footnote). ⁴⁵³ לחיי עולם. ⁴⁵⁴ *Dan.* xii. 2 is quoted.

⁴⁵⁵ So Rashi who adds: because of the pain for one hour; the word is the same as *Isai.* viii. 19; *Levy*, IV, 212 a, attempts another rendering.

⁴⁵⁶ *Zech.* xiii. 9: "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on My name, and I will hear them" is quoted; hence we have here the idea of Purgatory.

⁴⁵⁷ *I Sam.* ii. 6.

⁴⁵⁸ *Exod.* xxxiv. 6.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ps.* cxvi. 1-6.

⁴⁶⁰ *Malachi* iii. 21 is quoted.

⁴⁶¹ מינין.

munity and those who 'cause terror of themselves in the land of the living' and those who sinned and induced others to sin, as Jero-boam son of Nebat and the like, will descend into Hell and be judged therein forever:⁴⁶² Hell may cease to be, but they will not cease (to suffer)."⁴⁶³ It is clear that in the Last Judgment all mankind are to be judged; hence the resurrection is general for Jews and non-Jews and for all classes of men. The Mishna, it is true, speaks only of Israel as participating in the bliss of the world to come.⁴⁶⁴ In the Tosefta⁴⁶⁵ Rabbi Eliezer delivers himself of the opinion that all the heathens are to be excluded from the life everlasting; but he is opposed by Rabbi Joshua who holds that only heathen sinners will be excluded, "but the just among the Gentiles will participate in the eternal life." Eternal damnation for reprobate sinners is also taught *Sanh.* 90 b: "'That soul shall be utterly cut off,'"⁴⁶⁶ in this world and in the world to come." On the character and place of future damnation or beatitude see VOLZ.⁴⁶⁷ Over against the concrete popular conceptions we find rationalizing and spiritualizing expressions. "There will be no Hell," says Simon ben Lakīš, "in the world to come; but God will take the sun out of its case, the pious will be healed and the wicked judged thereby."⁴⁶⁸ "In the world to come there will be neither eating, nor drinking, nor procreation, nor barter, nor envy, nor hatred, nor strife; but the righteous will sit with their crowns on their heads and enjoy the splendor of the Divine Presence."⁴⁶⁹ "All the bliss promised by the prophets refers only to the Messianic days; but as for the world to come, 'no eye hath seen it beside Thee, O God!'"⁴⁷⁰

Elsewhere we meet with the conception that immediately after death the righteous go to Heaven (Paradise, Gan Eden) and the wicked to Hell.⁴⁷¹ But the two conceptions seem to overlap; nor is

⁴⁶² *Isai.* lxvi. 24 is quoted.

⁴⁶³ *R. ha-šana* 16 b f.; see Tosefta *Sanh.* xiii. 3-5.

⁴⁶⁴ *Sanh.* x. 1.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, xiii. 2; the text is much clearer there than *Sanh.* 105 a.

⁴⁶⁶ *Num.* xv. 31.

⁴⁶⁷ P. 282 ff., 325 ff.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ndar.* 8 b and parallels.

⁴⁶⁹ *Brak.* 17 a.

⁴⁷⁰ *Isai.* lxiv. 3. *Ibid.*, 34 b.

⁴⁷¹ See *Brak.* 28 b; 16 b quoted by Volz, 377; also *Smahot* viii. (where, however, the reference is to a martyr); *Edui.* ii. 10 (see the commentaries); comp. also Prof. Blau's art. "Gehenna" in the *Jew. Encycl.*, Dr. Kohler in the art. "Eschatology" and particularly Castelli, *loc. cit.*, 337 ff.

it always easy to tell whether, in a given passage, the one or the other is meant.

With PHILO the doctrine of retribution is stripped of its eschatological character. He knows of no Last Judgment; the doctrine of the resurrection is foreign to his philosophy. "This dualistic world of mind and matter will last to eternity. It will always be the same struggle, the same contrast. Within these eternal contrasts, man, at all times and under all circumstances, is confronted by the same task to remind himself of his better self, to turn away from the lower world and mode of existence and to find the way back to the heavenly home, to God. The wise and the pious succeed in so doing in this life. Moreover, he who in this life has exercised and strengthened his better self, his soul, after death, is lifted up into the higher spheres. When one looks upon the totality of individuals, then, in eternal rotation, the souls keep ascending and descending from heaven to earth and from earth to heaven in accordance with their merit and their worth."⁴⁷² Thus PHILO transcends the conceptions of *Wisdom* which are still largely eschatological.⁴⁷³

In the Middle Ages, it is MAIMONI who took up the spiritualizing thread in rabbinic literature,⁴⁷⁴ and, himself fecundated by a spirit kindred to the Philonian, accordingly re-formulated the dogma of the resurrection. At the outset, it should be noticed how, again in line with rabbinic thought,⁴⁷⁵ he takes it out of its traditional connection with the Messianic era. He finds that the Jews of his day hold confused views on the subject of the beatitude or misery in store for those who keep or transgress the Law of Moses. "Thus some believe that beatitude means going to the Garden of Eden (Paradise) which is a place where men will eat and drink without labor or exertion, the houses be built of precious stones, the couches spread with silks, and where there will be rivers of wine and scented oil, and the like; while the place of misery is Gehinnom (Hell), a place burning with fire in which the bodies are consumed, where men will be tortured with various kinds of pain too many to be enumerated. A second class identifies the hoped for beatitude

⁴⁷² Bousset, 416; see also Volz, *loc. cit.*, 51 f. ⁴⁷³ See Volz, *loc. cit.*, 50 f.

⁴⁷⁴ See the reference above (p. 75).

⁴⁷⁵ See below under article 10.

with the days of the Messiah; they believe that in that period men will be kings of high stature, living forever and occupying the entire earth to eternity. The Messiah, they claim, will live as long as God Himself. The earth will then produce woven garments and baked bread and many other impossible things. Misery means, for a man not to live in those days. A third class looks for the beatitude in the resurrection. When a man is restored to life, they believe, he will return to his family and friends and eat and drink and die no more. Misery means exclusion from this second life. A fourth class thinks that the beatitude consists in the enjoyment of rest and in the attainment of worldly desires in this life, as fertility of the soil, wealth, many children, health, security, a Jewish ruler, dominion over our enemies; while misery consists in the opposite which is indeed our lot in our present condition. A fifth class combines all the elements aforementioned in the expected beatitude: the coming of the Messiah and the resurrection of the dead and the Paradise where men will eat and drink and be in good health as long as heaven and earth will last. As for that wonderful article, *viz.*, the world which is to come, you will find few who at all give it a thought or take it as a fundamental or make any inquiry concerning the goods aforementioned, whether it, the future world, or any other of those goods is the final end or only a means to that end. Instead, both the common people and the intelligent keep inquiring, How are the dead to rise, naked or clad? in the very shrouds in which they were buried, in their original texture and color and make, or just with a covering about their bodies? and, in the Messianic era, will there be such difference as rich and poor, strong and weak? and similar questions are propounded by them at all times. Now, dear reader, listen to this parable in order that you may the more readily understand what I have to say later on the subject. Imagine a little boy who is taken to school where he may learn the Law which is indeed a great good inasmuch as it helps him in the attainment of perfection; but because of his young age and the weakness of his intellect he is unable to understand the greatness of that good or the value of the perfection which will come to him through it; so the more perfect (mature) teacher is compelled to resort to promises of things a little boy will like so as to have him apply himself to reading.

The teacher then says to the boy, Read, and we will give you nuts, or figs, or a piece of sugar. The boy proceeds to read, not because he understands the value of the study, but because of those sweetmeats which he certainly likes better than all the lessons; he submits to the hardship of study as a means to the end of obtaining his sweetmeats. When the boy grows up, and sweetmeats no longer tempt him, they will promise him a new pair of shoes, or a new suit of clothes, or money, when he grows still older; or, as he advances in maturity, they will tell him, Study, and you will become a rabbi and be honored by everybody. All those devices, though despicable, are resorted to because of the boy's undeveloped intellect which causes him to seek for the end of knowledge, outside knowledge. To say, Wherefore shall we acquire this science unless we profit thereby? is indeed great folly. Of such study our rabbis say that it is pursued 'not for its own sake.'⁴⁷⁶ Our rabbis further exhort us⁴⁷⁷ not to make of the Law a crown to play the great man with, or a hoe to dig with; this means that we should not make it the end of knowledge to bring us honor or wealth or even a livelihood; for we should cultivate knowledge for the sake of knowledge alone, and truth for the sake of truth alone. It is therefore not proper for a perfect (mature) man to say, If I do all the good and avoid all the evil which God has forbidden, what will be my reward? just as the little boy says, What am I to get for reading? Our rabbis indeed exhort that no man should make of the service of God and of obedience to His commandments a means for attaining an ulterior purpose. Thus Antigonus of Soko, the perfect man who attained to a true conception of things, teaches:⁴⁷⁸ 'Be not as slaves who minister to their master with a view to recompense; but be as slaves who serve their master without the expectation of reward!' That is, a man should believe in truth for truth's sake. The rabbis say of such a man that he serves God out of love.⁴⁷⁹ They also say with reference to *Ps. cxii. 1*: "That delighteth greatly in His commandments;" in His commandments, but not in their reward."⁴⁸⁰ Still higher is the exhortation in *Sifre*:⁴⁸¹ "Perchance thou wilt say, I will study that I may be rich, or

⁴⁷⁶ שלא לשמה.

⁴⁷⁷ *Abot* iv. 5.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, i. 3.

⁴⁷⁹ עונו מאהבה.

⁴⁸⁰ *Abod. zara* 19 a.

⁴⁸¹ Section עקב, on *Deut. xi. 22*.

that I may be called a doctor, or that I may receive reward in the future world. Therefore Scripture says: 'To love the Lord your God': do whatever you do out of love."⁴⁸² Of our father Abraham the rabbis say⁴⁸³ that he attained to that high stage of serving God out of love. Towards that goal we ought to strive. Our rabbis, however, since they knew what a difficult matter that is, how it is beyond the reach of the average man who, at first sight, will refuse to consent to such a proposition or to regard it as rational (for as a rule a man does nothing unless he will benefit or avoid an evil thereby)—he will therefore say that it is futile to ask of anyone to act without an ulterior purpose; how indeed will you say to a man who strives to live up to the Law, Do this or avoid that, not because of fear of the Divine punishment, nor in order to receive reward?

Indeed, this is a difficult matter, for not every man is able to comprehend the truth and to become as perfect as Abraham—therefore our rabbis have permitted the common people, in order that they might be steadfast in their faith, to do the good deeds with the expectation of reward and to shun the evil for fear of punishment; indeed those hopes and fears are held out to them until they grow stronger and maturer and able to comprehend the truth, exactly in the same manner as the little boy is trained; that is why the rabbis objected to the words of Antigonus because they were addressed to the common people, and warned the sages to be cautious in their words.⁴⁸⁴ Now, the common people lose nothing by obeying the Law because of the fear of punishment or from the expectation of reward, except that they are less perfect; nevertheless, it is very good for them, for they thus cultivate good habits and train their will so that in the end they may strive to know the truth and to serve God out of love. Hence the rabbis teach: "A man shall always busy himself in the Law, even not for its own sake; for from studying the Law not for its own sake he will come to study it for its own sake."⁴⁸⁵ Know that, just as little as a blind man can conceive of color, or a deaf man of sound, can bodies conceive of the pleasures of the soul. And just as the fishes do not comprehend

⁴⁸² In Friedmann's edition there is a different reading.

⁴⁸³ *Sota* 31 a.

⁴⁸⁴ *Abot* i. 11.

⁴⁸⁵ *Psahim* 50 a and parallels.

what fire is, because they live in water which is its opposite, so it is impossible to comprehend in this corporeal world the pleasures of the spiritual world.⁴⁹⁰ For in this world we have nothing except the pleasures of the body which are conveyed to us through our senses, like eating and drinking and love; we possess no other pleasures, nor can we conceive them by superficial thinking, except perhaps by much diligent study. It is quite proper that it should be so. For we live in the corporeal world; we therefore know only its pleasures. The pleasures of the soul are perpetual, everlasting; nor is there any relation between those pleasures and the pleasures of the body. It is certainly not proper for us who follow the Law or for the theologians among the philosophers to deny that the angels, stars, or spheres have their pleasures. Of a truth, they have a very great pleasure which consists in their true conception of God; that pleasure, indeed, is everlasting, uninterrupted; of course, they have no bodily pleasures, nor have they any conception of them, for they are without the senses which we have and by means of which we perceive objects. Likewise, those of us who become worthy of attaining that degree after death, will no more perceive the pleasures of the body, nor indeed have any desire for them, just as a king will be interested in the extension of his dominion and find no pleasure in games of ball of which he was fond in his boyhood when the difference between the two kinds of interest were unknown to him, just as we in this life do not understand the difference between the pleasures of the body and those of the soul, preferring the former to the latter. But when you reflect upon the value of the two kinds of pleasure, you will recognize the meanness of the one and the greatness of the other, even in this life. For most men, indeed all, will labor hard with their body and soul in order to rise to a position of honor; yet it is not the pleasure which one derives from eating and drinking. Still other men will set the desire of avenging themselves upon their enemies above many pleasures of the body. Many men will also abstain from the greatest pleasure of the body for fear of shame or because they wish to make for themselves a good reputation. If this (hierarchy of pleasures and the preference

⁴⁹⁰ אלעאלם אלרוחאני.

of the pleasures of the soul) obtains in this life, how much the more so in the spiritual world which is the future world⁴⁸⁷ where our souls will be in a position to know God quite as well as, nay better than, the higher, celestial, bodies. That pleasure cannot be distributed into parts nor told, nor can any similitude thereof be found. Thus the prophet, reflecting upon the greatness of that bliss, exclaims: 'Oh how great is Thy goodness which Thou hast laid up for them that fear Thee!'⁴⁸⁸ Similarly our rabbis.⁴⁸⁹ 'With their crowns on their head,' this refers to the immortality of the soul,⁴⁹⁰ inasmuch as its object of cognition, that is God, is everlasting; for God and the object of the Divine knowledge are one, according to the proofs of the philosophers which it is impossible to reproduce here. 'And enjoy the splendor of the Divine Presence,' this refers to their power of knowing God in the same degree as the higher intelligences. Thus our beatitude and final aim consists in being admitted to that high society and attaining that high stage of immortality, the everlasting life of the soul which, as we saw, is necessitated by the eternity of Him who is the cause of the immortality of the soul that once perceives Him. Similarly, the greatest punishment is the death of the soul, its perfect annihilation."⁴⁹¹ MAIMUNI emphatically asserts that Hell is not a place, but a name for the punishment and humiliation which shall overtake the wicked. MAIMUNI really places the beatitude of immortality in this life. "When a man believes that in the prophetic revelation we possess a knowledge of the Divine will as to what is right and what is wrong, he should, as a man in the right disposition, follow what is right and abstain from the wrong; thereby he realizes the ideal of man and distinguishes himself from the brute creature; there is then nothing that prevents the immortality of the soul and its everlasting life conditioned by the everlasting duration of its object of cognition, God; that is the future world."⁴⁹² The dogma of the resur-

⁴⁸⁷ אליעזר אלנפסאני והו העולם הנא

⁴⁸⁸ Ps. xxxi. 20.

⁴⁸⁹ Brak. 17 a is quoted; see above (p. 75). ⁴⁹⁰ השארות הנפש בקא אלנפס.

⁴⁹¹ Sanh. 90 b is quoted.—From the excursus to Sanh. x. 1.

⁴⁹² See תשובה, viii. ff.; in viii. 8 is clearly enunciated that the future world is now in existence, thus the eschatological traditions are consciously cut through (see Abraham ben David's criticism).

rection, in the re-formulation which MAIMUNI gives it, becomes one of the immortality of the soul. While MAIMUNI emphatically limits the beatitude of immortality to the righteous and quite as emphatically asserts the eternal damnation of the wicked, he includes in the membership of the righteous those who truly repent. "Let no man who truly repents imagine that he is removed from the stage of the righteous because of his former sins; on the contrary, he is beloved of God as if he had never sinned. Indeed, his reward is still greater, inasmuch, as having tasted of sin, he separated from it and subdued his evil impulse. The rabbis say: 'Where the repentant sinners stand, the perfectly pious are not able to stand.'"⁴⁰³ The greatest sinners may be saved through repentance.⁴⁰⁴ Yet there are sins so grave that their perpetrator is denied the opportunity of repenting.⁴⁰⁵

On the subject of infant salvation we find among the rabbis a wide divergence of opinion. According to some even still-born children are destined to rise. Others confine the resurrection to those born alive. But others maintain that only those who had been circumcised before they died will rise; or, those who had learned to speak; or, those who had learned to say Amen (after prayers).⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ *Brak.* 34 b.— תשובה, vii. 4.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, iii. 14; iv. 6.

⁴⁰⁵ אין מספיקין בירו לעשות תשובה, *Abot* v. 18. Maimuni seems to contradict himself תשובה, iv. 1 and 6. But he certainly assumes that some sinners will die without repentance; their lot is eternal damnation. Observe also that in תשובה, iv. f. Maimuni simply codifies the teaching of the rabbis. His own Heaven is indeed within the reach of but the few elect. Comp. also *Guide*, II, 51.

⁴⁰⁶ See *Sanh.* 110 b.; *Ktub.* 111 a.; p. *Šbi'it* c. iv., at the end. See also Crescas, אור ה', ed. Vienna, 89 b f., who discusses the matter with reference to immortality (השארות). On metempsychosis (chiefly a kabbalistic doctrine) see Castelli, *loc. cit.*, 351 f. "According to this (kabbalistic) doctrine sin and hell cannot endure forever, but at last all souls are destined to be purified, and to return to the region of absolute goodness and perfection. In short, as one of the most celebrated Kabbalists teaches, 'In truth, thou hast nothing eternal, if not on the side of good.'"

E. CHRISTOLOGY OR ECCLESIOLOGY (that is, doctrines concerning the election, vocation and future of the community of Israel): (10) IN AND THROUGH ISRAEL THERE SHALL BE REALIZED THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM OF PEACE AND MORAL PERFECTION AND FULNESS OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

MAIMUNI's twelfth article: The Days of the Messiah.⁴⁹⁷ With just as good a right it might have been inscribed: The Election of (the People, or Community, of) Israel.⁴⁹⁸ SELLIN⁴⁹⁹ seeks to prove that even in the popular religion of pre-prophetic times the relation of Israel to Jahve was based upon an historical act of election on the part of Jahve and therefore considered as (morally) conditioned and dissoluble. The opposite view which he combats is that of SMEND, who sums up the current opinion of the school to which he belongs by maintaining that "ancient Israel looked upon the relation of Jahve and itself as naturally given, primitive and indissoluble."⁵⁰⁰ SMEND makes the prophets responsible for the thought of the dissolubility of the relation between Jahve and Israel. Upon the prophetic teaching rests the doctrine taught in the Law "according to which Jahve as the God of heaven and earth chose this one nation from among all other nations, offered Himself as its God and fixed the conditions upon which He wished to be the God of the people, so that, if Israel chose to fulfil those conditions, the people was promised Jahve's grace, while it was threatened with His wrath if it chose to neglect them, such being the terms of the covenant to which Jahve and Israel solemnly bound themselves."⁵⁰¹ The doctrine of the election of Israel is enunciated in the deuteronomistic writings; it is made the subject of reflection and hence partakes of the nature of a dogma. The standard passage is *Deut.* vii. 6. "For thou art a holy people unto Jahve thy God: Jahve thy God hath chosen (בחר) thee to be a choice⁵⁰² people unto Himself, out of all the peoples that are upon the face of the earth."⁵⁰³ The writer reflects

⁴⁹⁷ ימות המשיח.

⁴⁹⁸ בחירת (עם, כנסת) ישראל.

⁴⁹⁹ "Jahwes Verhältnis zum israelitischen Volk" (in his *Beiträge zur Israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Heft I), 1896.

⁵⁰⁰ Smend, 117 ff., 293 ff.

⁵⁰¹ P. 117.

⁵⁰² On the meaning of סנלה see Driver *ad locum*.

⁵⁰³ The verse is almost identical with xiv. 2.

upon the reason of the election of Israel. "Jahve did not set His love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all peoples; but because Jahve loved you, and because He would keep the oath which He swore unto your fathers, hath Jahve brought you out with a mighty hand."⁵⁰⁴ In iv. 37 the love of the fathers is alone given as the motive. Comp. also x. 14 f. "Behold, unto Jahve thy God belongeth the heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth, with all that therein is. Only Jahve had a delight in thy fathers to love them, and He chose their seed after them, even you out of all peoples." Similarly *Exod.* xix. 5 f.⁵⁰⁵ The act of the Divine election is invariably identified with the deliverance from Egyptian bondage. The prerogative which Israel enjoys to be a people set apart from among all the nations involves great obligations, "to fear Jahve, to walk in all His ways, and to love Him, and to serve Him with the whole soul, and to keep His Commandments, and His statutes."⁵⁰⁶ Jahve will have Israel as His people only as long as it obeys His will and remains true to its solemn covenant. But Jahve will cast Israel away, as soon as it breaks that covenant.⁵⁰⁷ The Deuteronomic Law, together with the writings that cluster around it, approves itself as a worthy successor of pre-exilic prophecy whose preaching of uncompromising loyalty to the holy will of Jahve it accepts as the sole condition for the right relations between God and His people.

The first of the pre-exilic prophets to preach the dissolubility of the relations between Jahve and Israel is Amos. "You only do I know of all the families of the earth, therefore—I will visit upon you all your iniquities."⁵⁰⁸ "The prerogative is admitted; but it is a dangerous prerogative: for also the sins of Israel are better known to Jahve than those of other nations."⁵⁰⁹ "Amos destroys the religious illusion of his countrymen."⁵¹⁰ The bond that unites Jahve to Israel is not natural, but moral; it does not find expression in sacrificial communion, but in obedience to His demands of justice. "The day of Jahve is an object of hope to the people at

⁵⁰⁴ Verse 7 f.

⁵⁰⁵ Deuteronomic; see Holzinger *ad locum*.— Comp. also *Deut.* xxxii. 9.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, x. 12 f.; comp. xxvi. 16-19.

⁵⁰⁷ *Deut.* xxviii. f.

⁵⁰⁸ *Amos* iii. 2.

⁵⁰⁹ Wellhausen *ad locum*.

⁵¹⁰ *Id.*

large to whom the present appears oppressive and insecure: Jahve cannot remain inactive forever; at some point He must intervene. They are convinced that when He does step in, it will be in favor of His people. They long for the coming of the great crisis which with one stroke will inaugurate the new and beautiful era without so much as their moving a finger. 'You know what kind of a people we Russians are. We always hope that something or somebody will turn up to heal once for all all our wounds, to rid us once for all of all our ailings as if of a sick tooth.' Amos, much more emphatically than Tolstoi, protests against this pious illusion. He would also have protested against the belief in a Messiah, if he had known of it."¹¹¹ The Messianic appendix¹¹² is regarded as spurious by WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. On the Messianic passages in the pre-exilic prophets in general we possess a monograph by VOLZ.¹¹³ VOLZ agrees with the above named scholars in regard to the spuriousness of *Amos* ix. 8 ff. He holds that the prophecy cannot be ascribed to Amos because of several details (like the fall of the Davidic dynasty, the mention of Edom, *etc.*) which betray exilic or post-exilic conditions; but he objects to the view of WELLHAUSEN and the other scholars who deny that Amos looked forward to a brighter future for his people. To them Amos is the uncompromising preacher of justice; it is by the standard of justice that Jahve governs the world; the sinful nation is doomed; the Divine decree is irrevocable. But even if v. 13-15 be eliminated as spurious,¹¹⁴ there remains v. 4: "Seek ye me, and ye shall live." Now, it may be said that the prophet does not expect his advice to be heeded. But he does offer it, nevertheless. That is, the Israel that *is*, the actual people, is rejected; but there arises before the prophet's vision the Israel as it should and might be, the *ideal* Israel. It must be admitted that Amos is too one-sidedly a castigat-
 or of the present order to give himself over to the expectation of the better future. The pessimist, in his hour, is the messenger of Providence. The man of strong faith will come after him and supplement him: despair will yield to hope, and the Israel as it

¹¹¹ *Id.*¹¹² *Amos* ix. 8 ff.¹¹³ *Die vor-exilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, 1897. ¹¹⁴ Volz, 18.

should or might be will give way to the Israel that, in the distant future, shall surely become what it should be. This is the Messianic idea in essence; and, while it is wanting in Amos, he nevertheless paved the way for it.

Hos. iii, 5, the words: "and David their King" are universally rejected as an interpolation. Equal unanimity obtains among critics with regard to ii. 1-3. NOWACK follows VOLZ in excising iii. 5 (the entire verse) and ii. 16-18; 20-25. VOLZ also rejects as certainly or probably spurious v. 15 b - vi. 3; x. 12, 13 a; xi. 8-11; xii. 4 b - 7, 13; xiv. 2-9; NOWACK excises the suspected passages in xi. and xii., but retains the other prophecies of restoration at least in substance. The unity of the book is doubted by VOLZ; it is maintained by WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. The allegory of Jahve's marriage with Israel, it is conceded by VOLZ, is based upon conceptions which are somewhat akin to the Messianic idea. Jahve loves Israel, "though they turn unto other gods," quite as much as the prophet loves his faithless spouse.⁵¹⁵ Not as a stern judge, but as the wronged, yet affectionate husband, as a loving father,⁵¹⁶ will Jahve punish Israel; the punishment must arouse in the people sentiments of affection towards Jahve; it is to be disciplinary, educational and to lead to repentance. It is true that in the present Israel's repentant mood is as short-lived as the morning cloud; but some day, after a period of suffering, the prophet hopes, Israel will in all earnestness return unto Jahve.

Hosea's rejection of the monarchy cannot, of course, be reconciled with the expectation of a future ideal ruler which an interpolator has put into his mouth;⁵¹⁷ it, nevertheless, contributed towards the development of the Messianic idea. For the latter is based upon the idea of the theocracy, and the idea of the theocracy is an outgrowth of the prophetic rejection of the monarchy.⁵¹⁸ "For they have not rejected thee," thus the deuteronomistic writer makes Jahve speak of the people who asked for a king, "but they have rejected Me, that I should not be king over them."⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁵ iii. 1.

⁵¹⁶ xi. 1, 3.

⁵¹⁷ See above.

⁵¹⁸ See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,² 1886, 435.

⁵¹⁹ *I Sam.* viii. 7; comp. x. 19; xii. 12, 19; see Wellhausen, *Composition*,² 1889, 246.

Isai. ix. 1-6; xi 1-8, not to mention other passages which are doubtful, are unmistakably Messianic, that is, speak of the future ruler upon the throne of David. They are rejected as spurious by STADE, HACKMANN,⁵²⁰ CHEYNE;⁵²¹ on the other hand, their genuineness is maintained by WELLHAUSEN, SMEND, DUHM. But, even if we let those and the similar passages go, there remains the indubitable fact that Isaiah, while preaching the doom of Judah, hoped for the conversion of a "remnant."⁵²² The better Israel of the future shall surely come to be, no matter how small its nucleus. However we may interrupt the enigmatic Immanuel (c. vii.), Isaiah knows himself in conflict with the actual ruler: the rejection of the present order of things is a Messianic element. The triumph of Jahve over "all that is exalted" in nature and in man⁵²³ is another element which made for the idea of the theocracy. Thus, Isaiah, if not the first expounder of the Messianic hope, certainly, no less than Hosea, prepared the way for it.

On *Micah* i. 12 f.; v. 1-4⁵²⁴ see VOLZ.⁵²⁵ On iv. 1-4 (= *Isai.* ii. 2-4) see HACKMANN, CHEYNE.⁵²⁶ Chapters iv. and v. are discussed by STADE.⁵²⁷ Thus the prophet to whom only chapters i.-iii. may be ascribed was like his predecessors a prophet of evil; the consolations inserted in, or attached to, his discourses betray a later date; at any rate, they do not belong to Micah. This is in the main the opinion of WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK, SMEND. *Isai.* ii. 2-4 is left to Isaiah by DUHM.

The strictly Messianic passages in Jeremiah⁵²⁸ are discussed by VOLZ.⁵²⁹ His conclusions are accepted by me in the forthcoming publication referred to above.⁵³⁰ Of the section iii. 6-iv. 2, I retain only iii. 13 (to רענן), 19 a as genuine. With iii. 15-17 falls the cognate fragment xxiii. 1-4. The book of consolations which con-

⁵²⁰ *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, 1893.

⁵²¹ *Introduction*, 1895.

⁵²² שאר ישוב! See Meinhold's monograph "Der heilige Rest," in his *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, 1903. ⁵²³ C. ii.

⁵²⁴ The latter passage is certainly Messianic, i. e., it speaks of the future ruler, while in the former passage Jahve may be meant by the King. ⁵²⁵ P. 64 ff.

⁵²⁶ *Introduction*, 9 ff.

⁵²⁷ *ZAW.*, 3 (1883), 1 ff.; 4 (1884), 291 ff.

⁵²⁸ xxiii. 5 f.; xxxiii. 14 ff.; xxx. 9-xxxi. 21.

⁵²⁹ P. 78.

⁵³⁰ P. 39, footnote 176.

sists of chapters xxx. and xxxi. contains a number of more or less related fragments none of which may safely be attributed to Jeremiah. One may doubt whether there be any genuine kernel to chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. Of the historical Jeremiah the writer of xxviii. 8 ff. seems to have retained an adequate conception. He, preeminently, was the prophet of evil. A later generation placed into his mouth consolatory predictions of restoration: he was made not only "to pluck up and to break down, and to destroy and to overthrow," but also "to build, and to plant."

The prophet is the radical of his times. He sees nothing but shortcomings, nothing but evil. He is impatient with the slow progress of half-hearted reform. Prophecy, despairing of the Israel that would not be what it should be, made way for the Law that undertook to train Israel to be what it should be. In the Jewish community which survived the fall of the nation, the Law installed itself as a strict school-master: it demanded complete surrender, absolute obedience; it threatened grievous punishment for failure to submit to its discipline, but it held out the promise of a glorious future if Israel chose to impose upon itself its yoke. *Deut. xxviii.* predicts national prosperity as long as Israel will keep the Law, and national disaster as soon as the Law is forgotten. The exiled people is promised no redemption. How different the vista and the spirit of c. xxx. with which goes iv. 25 ff.! There *is* a future for exiled Israel: "in the latter days" the penitent nation will seek God with its whole heart and soul and find Him; the dispersed are to be gathered again in the land of the fathers; the enemies of Israel shall be cursed, but Israel shall be blessed; for it will be a new Israel, with heart circumcised, and wholly devoted to the love of God. "For Jahve thy God is a merciful God: He will not fail thee, neither destroy thee, nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which He swore unto them. And because He loved thy fathers, therefore He chose their seed after them." The dogma of the election of Israel involves the postulate that the ideal Israel will some day be real. The Law is the guaranty of Israel's election. "For this is your wisdom and your understanding in the sight of the peoples, which shall hear all these statutes, and say, Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what great nation is there,

that hath a god so nigh unto them, as Jahve our God is whensoever we call upon Him? And what great nation is there, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?"⁵²¹ Israel has become conscious of its specific culture ("wisdom and understanding"), of its genius; it knows itself and values itself and believes itself indestructible.

The deuteronomistic writers rest upon the shoulders of Jeremiah and his predecessors. They infused into the Law the prophetic spirit. With them the Law was life. "For this commandment which I command thee this day, it is not unattainable for thee, neither is it a thing far off. It is not in heaven, that one should say, Who shall go up for us to heaven and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that one should say, Who shall go over the sea for us and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that it is possible for thee to do it."⁵²² They were optimists. The prophets of evil had done their work; after the fall of Jerusalem, the preacher turned comforter. We may witness the transformation in Ezekiel. "As long as Jerusalem stood, he kept reminding his contemporaries of the sins of their fathers and announced the coming end. For his fellow-exiles had set all their hopes in the continued existence of the meagre remnant of the theocracy, they did not believe him nor listen to him, until at last he ceased to preach to them. Then Jerusalem fell, and momentarily the rôles were changed. The prophet's mouth now opened wide, but no more for threats, but from that moment on for promises of better times. In spite of his angry chidings and his stormy quarrels with his countrymen in which he exclusively engaged for years, Ezekiel is in truth the prophet with whom prophecy assumes the so-called Messianic character."⁵²³ "Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold they say, **Our bones** are dried up, and our hope is lost; we are clean cut off. **Therefore prophesy**, and say, Thus saith Jahve: Behold, I will open **your graves** and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you unto the land of Israel. . . . And I will put my spirit in you,

⁵²¹ iv. 6 ff.

⁵²² *Deut.* xxx. 11-14.

⁵²³ Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 151 f.

and ye shall live."⁵³⁴ Not only Judah, but also Ephraim shall be brought back. "And I will make them one nation in My land, upon the mountains of Israel; and they shall have one king and be no more two nations, neither shall they any more be divided into two kingdoms."⁵³⁵ That king who will rule over the united nation shall be "My servant David."⁵³⁶ "And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David."⁵³⁷ "Ezekiel threatens the neighboring kingdoms hitherto spared: Egypt and Tyre shall succumb to the Babylonians; Edom, Moab and Ammon to the Arabs. Out of regard to Himself, for His name's sake, Jahve will avenge Himself upon the heathens who believed that He had fallen with His nation; His own honor is at stake, as long as the reproach of desolation rests upon His land."⁵³⁸ The restored Israel shall be a purified Israel. "And I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh."⁵³⁹ Ezekiel's influence upon the subsequent history of the Jewish community was great indeed: the organization of the theocracy proceeded along the lines laid down by him. The writer of the Law of Holiness belongs to the Ezekielian school; *Levit.* xxvi. predicts the exile, but also the subsequent restoration. "If perchance their uncircumcised heart should then be humbled, and they should then be paid the punishment of their iniquity; and I will remember My covenant with Jacob, and also My covenant with Isaac, and My covenant with Abraham will I remember; and I will remember the land. . . . And yet for all this, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, or abhor them, to break My covenant with them, and to consume them; for I am Jahve, their God."⁵⁴⁰ The Priests' Code, like Ezekiel, makes room for the "chief"⁵⁴¹ by the side of the "anointed priest"⁵⁴² in the theocracy; but the priest comes first in order and, as it appears, also in importance.⁵⁴³

On a line with the Ezekielian expectations are the Messianic interpolations by which, in exilic and post-exilic times, the editors of the

⁵³⁴ *Ezek.* xxxvii. 11 ff. ⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 22; Cornill's text.

⁵³⁷ xxxvi. 23.

⁵³⁸ Wellhausen; see *Ezek.* xxv. 22 ff.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.* 24 f.

⁵³⁹ xxxvi. 26.

⁵⁴⁰ Verses 41 b, 42, 44; Driver's translation.

⁵⁴¹ נשיא.

⁵⁴² הכהן המשיח.

⁵⁴³ *Levit.* iv.

pre-exilic prophetic writings sought to soften down the bitter invectives against the sinful people. The prophetic canon was placed by the side of the Law only after its rebukes⁵⁴⁴ had been supplemented by consolation.⁵⁴⁵ The fallen tabernacle of David is to be raised up; ⁵⁴⁶ Israel is to seek "Jahve their God, and David their king;" ⁵⁴⁷ there will be a turn in the fortunes of the people,⁵⁴⁸ it shall dwell securely in its old home; ⁵⁴⁹ a new covenant will be made with the restored people "not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt. . . . But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jahve; I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbor, and every man his brother, saying, Know Jahve: for they shall all know Me from the least of them to the greatest of them. . . . Thus saith Jahve which giveth the sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the moon and of the stars for a light by night, which stirreth up the sea that the waves thereof roar; Jahve of hosts is His name; if these ordinances depart from before Me, saith Jahve, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a nation before Me forever. Thus saith Jahve: If heaven above can be measured, and the foundations of the earth searched out beneath, then will I also cast off all the seed of Israel." ⁵⁵⁰ Israel and the Davidic dynasty are indestructible; yet it is a purified, regenerated Israel, given to the fear of God, with His Law written in the heart, a community of men who know God, sons of the Living God; ⁵⁵¹ and the Davidic ruler one upon whom "the spirit of Jahve shall rest, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of Jahve:" ⁵⁵² the Messianic era is to be the golden age of peace and justice." ⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁴ תוכחות.

⁵⁴⁵ נחמה.

⁵⁴⁶ *Amos* ix. 11:

⁵⁴⁷ *Hos.* iii. 5.

⁵⁴⁸ *Amos* ix. 14 and in numerous other places.

⁵⁴⁹ *Jerem.* xxiii. 6 and elsewhere.

⁵⁵⁰ *Jerem.* xxxi. 31-36. See also xxxii. 37 ff.; 17 ff.

⁵⁵¹ *Hos.* ii. 1.

⁵⁵² *Isai.* xi. 2.

⁵⁵³ The "golden age" of mythology is projected into the future; see Gunkel, *Genesis*, 100; *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895, 12 f.; 87.

The dogma of the election and indestructibility of Israel received a new formulation at the hands of the author of *Isai.* xl.-lv., that great seer who, without derogation to his extraordinary gifts as a poet and spiritual teacher, may be said to have laid the foundation for a theology of Judaism. We are treading here, it must be granted, upon disputed ground; much depends upon our critical and exegetical attitude to the "Servant"-passages.⁵⁰⁴ MARTI believes that the author of *Isai.* xl.-lv. wrote the Servant-passages himself; SMEND and WELLHAUSEN assign them to an earlier writer whose work the author of xl. ff. incorporated into his own; DUHM places them in late post-exilic times and distinguishes between the original poems and later supplements, thus accepting the analysis of SCHIAN and CHEYNE in c. xlii. Who is this "Servant of the Lord?" The answer will, or may, differ according to whether we have in mind the original poet or his supplementers and editors. For our purposes it makes really little difference whether the collectivistic⁵⁰⁵ interpretation is original or imposed by an editor: it is *there*, in the Old Testament, no matter from whose hand and head. It is quite true that the collectivistic interpretation cannot be reconciled with a passage like xlix. 5 f.;⁵⁰⁶ but it is certainly supported by the text of xlix. 3⁵⁰⁷ and the Greek text of xlii. 1; it is, moreover, quite conceivable that the individualistic-Messianic interpretation of a later time brought about textual changes and insertions not in accord with the original collectivistic intent. It is furthermore true that, while in the Servant-passages Israel's servanthship is represented as placidly tragic, its character in the environment is animatedly glorious; but even in the Servant-passages, notably in c. liii., Israel's suffering is to be but a passage way to the ultimate triumph. The formulation to which reference was made above runs

⁵⁰⁴ I have before me several monographs (Giesebrecht, Schian, Laue, Bertholet, Kittel, Füllkrug, Budde, Rothstein, Roy); good discussions may be found in the commentaries of Marti and Duhm; Smend, 352, footnote 2; Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 159, footnote; article "Servant of the Lord" in the *Encycl. Biblica* where Budde's criticism of Duhm's theory is reviewed at considerable length, with the inevitable Jerahmeelite theory as the solvent of all difficulties.

⁵⁰⁵ The servant = Israel.

⁵⁰⁶ According to Sifre, וְאַתָּחָנִי, sect. 27, the prophet is addressed.

⁵⁰⁷ Duhm resorts to emendation.

in our present text of *Isai.* xl. ff. as follows: Israel, the seed of Abraham, the friend of Jahve,⁸⁸⁸ is the chosen Servant,⁸⁸⁹ God's prophet and missionary unto the world,⁸⁹⁰ indestructible;⁸⁹¹ for though at present despised and rejected of men and cut off from the land of the living as an expiatory victim for the sins of the world, Israel shall rise from the grave, triumphant with the success of God's work accomplished by it.⁸⁹² Israel is charged with instructing the world in the Law of God;⁸⁹³ as a true prophet and teacher, it must give its back to smiters, and its cheeks to those who pluck out the beard; as a second Jeremiah, it must not hide its face from insult and spitting.⁸⁹⁴ In order to realize the triumphant Israel of the future, the Israel of the present must willingly submit to suffering and contumely and martyrdom. The Law to which Deutero-Isaiah refers is certainly not identical with the earlier or later codifications of which our present Pentateuch is composed: it is rather their substance, their Idea. EDUARD MEYER⁸⁹⁵ thinks that the Priests' Law, "the basis of Judaism," created its necessary supplement, Jew-hating. He was anticipated by Deutero-Isaiah: Jewish suffering is a necessary correlate of Israel's vocation as God's servant and teacher of mankind. Thus, thanks to the re-formulation which the dogma of Israel's election⁸⁹⁶ received at the hands of Deutero-Isaiah, it was enriched by the supplementary doctrine of Israel's vocation which must needs be attended with suffering, but just as certainly be crowned with ultimate triumph.

The vocation of Israel is also the subject of the prophecy *Isai.* ii. 2-4 = *Micah* iv. 1-3. "And in the latter days the mountain of Jahve's house will be established as the highest of the mountains, and will be exalted above the hills, and all nations will stream to it; and many peoples will set forth, and say: Come let us go up to the

⁸⁸⁸ xli. 8.

⁸⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 9; xlii. 1, 19; xliii. 10; xliv. 1 f; xlix. 3, 6, 7; l. 10; lii. 13.

⁸⁹⁰ xlii. 6; xlix. 6. ⁸⁹¹ liv. 10 ⁸⁹² C. liii. ⁸⁹³ xlii. 4. ⁸⁹⁴ l. 6; li. 23.

⁸⁹⁵ *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896, 222

⁸⁹⁶ The Messianic dogma; Deutero-Isaiah has no scruples about investing Cyrus with the Messianic title—xlv. 1—in the narrower sense as the organ of the Deity in the work of the redemption and resuscitation of Israel, the true Messiah.

mountain of Jahve, to the house of the God of Jacob, that He may instruct us out of His precepts, and that we may walk in His paths; for from Zion goes forth instruction, and the word of Jahve from Jerusalem. Then will He judge between the nations, and give decision to many peoples; and they will beat their swords into mattocks and their spears into pruning-knives; nation will not lift up sword against nation, neither will they learn war any more."⁵⁶⁷ While here, no less than in Deutero-Isaiah,⁵⁶⁸ the God of Jacob is the Sovereign in the theocracy and as such Teacher and Arbitrator, there is no reason why elsewhere⁵⁶⁹ the God-inspired Davidic scion should not be represented as the organ of the Deity in the performance of the theocratic functions. "No harm nor destruction will there be in all My holy mountain, for the land is become full of the knowledge of Jahve, as waters fill the sea. In that day, the Root of Jesse which stands as a banner to the peoples—to him will the nations resort, and glorious will be his habitation."⁵⁷⁰

The post-exilic prophets—it is necessary to mention only Haggai, Zechariah, Joel, Trito-Isaiah—seek to strengthen the despondent Jewish community by the prediction of the speedy advent of the Messianic era. Sometimes the ruler with whom the new order of things is to set in is specified: Haggai and Zechariah see in Zerubbabel the chosen servant. Generally, however, Jahve is represented as the Redeemer of Israel. The day of Jahve will bring punishment to the heathen world; but redemption and a glorious future to Israel. The new Jerusalem, most fantastically pictured by Trito-Isaiah, will eclipse the past and present by her wealth and splendor and miraculous conditions, reminiscent of the golden age. "Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth, the former things shall not be remembered nor recalled to mind. Rather shall they rejoice and exult forever in that which I create, for behold, I create Jerusalem anew as an exultation, and her people as a joy, and I will exult in Jerusalem, and rejoice in my people. No more shall there be heard in her the sound of weeping, nor the sound of a cry; no more shall there be an infant of a few days, nor an old man who cannot live out his days. The youngest shall die a hundred years

⁵⁶⁷ Cheyne's translation. ⁵⁶⁸ E. g., lii. 7. ⁵⁶⁹ E. g., *Isai.* xi. ⁵⁷⁰ Verse 9 f.

old. . . . For like the days of the trees shall be the days of My people. . . . For they are a race blessed by Jahve. . . . Then shall the wolf and the lamb feed together, and the lion eat straw like the ox. No harm or destruction shall there be in all my holy mountain, says Jahve."⁵⁷¹ "And I will make peace thy governor, and righteousness thy magistrate. Violence will no more be heard of in thy land, nor desolation and destruction within thy borders, and thou wilt call thy walls Deliverance, and thy gates Renown. No more will the sun serve thee for light, nor for brightness the moon illuminate thee, but Jahve will be to thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy adornment. Thy sun will set no more, and thy moon will not wane, but Jahve will be to thee an everlasting light."⁵⁷² Yet the future community shall admit proselytes.⁵⁷³ "For my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."⁵⁷⁴ A community that admits proselytes is a Church. We have here the nascent idea of the Jewish Church. While, on a lower level, emphasis is laid upon the exceptional status of God's people—the "priests of Jahve" receiving sacerdotal revenue from the nations⁵⁷⁵—the post-exilic prophets rise to the highest thought—and religious ideas should be judged by the highest expression they find—that the Messianic era will unite mankind as worshipers of the One God—as the monotheistic Church to the formation of which Israel is to devote its existence. "For then will I turn to the peoples a pure lip, that they may all call upon the name of Jahve to serve Him with one consent."⁵⁷⁶ "And Jahve shall be king over all the earth: in that day shall Jahve be one, and His name one."⁵⁷⁷ "The expectation," says WELL-HAUSEN,⁵⁷⁸ "that Jewish monotheism will once dominate the world, is here expressed with unusual clearness and definiteness. *His name* means His invocation and worship, His cultus."

The advent of the Kingdom of God is the object of the hopes and prayers of the Psalmists. For our present purposes we may safely omit all reference to those Psalms in which the praying subject is in the singular: the identity of the "I" of the Psalms is a

⁵⁷¹ *Isai.* lxxv. 17 ff.; Cheyne's translation.

⁵⁷² *Ibid.*, lx. 17 ff.; Cheyne's translation.

⁵⁷⁴ Verse 7.

⁵⁷⁶ *Zeph.* iii. 9.

⁵⁷⁷ *Zech.* xiv. 9.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, lvi. 6.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, lxi. 6.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ad locum.*

mooted question;⁵⁷⁹ the collectivistic interpretation is accepted by WELLHAUSEN, while DUHM is a follower of the individualizing exegesis. There is a sufficient number of Psalms in which the hopes of the community are the subject, in other words, Messianic Psalms. "O Jahve! God Sabaoth! how long wilt Thou be enraged notwithstanding the prayers of Thy people? Thou feedest them with the bread of tears, and givest them tears to drink by the measure. Thou makest us but the butt of our neighbors, and our enemies keep up their scoffs. Do Thou restore us again, O God Sabaoth! let Thy face shine, that we may be helped! Thou didst lift up a grape vine in Egypt, Thou didst drive away people, and plant it; Thou madest a clear space before it; it took root and filled the land. The mountains were covered with its shadow, and the cedars of God with its branches. To the sea it extended its tendrils and its shoots to the River. Why hast Thou torn down its fences, so that all who pass that way do pluck it? The wild boar roots it up, it is food for the beasts of the field. O God Sabaoth, turn Thou again! look Thou from heaven, and behold! Take this vine as Thy charge and replant it. That which Thy right hand has planted—they have burnt it with fire, they have hewn it down; before the menace of Thy face may they perish! Be Thine arm over the man (= Israel) of Thy right hand! over the man whom Thou hast chosen (?) for Thyself, who has not swerved from Thee."⁵⁸⁰ Elsewhere, Israel is called God's Anointed one (Messiah, the Christ).⁵⁸¹ "As Israel is the Servant, *i. e.*, the Prophet of Jahve, so it is also the Messiah and the heir of David, at the present in a state of weakness, but in the future in one of power."⁵⁸² WELLHAUSEN says in his note on *Ps. ii. 7*: "The Messiah is the incarnation of Israel's universal rule. He and Israel are almost identical, and it matters little whether we say that Israel *has* or *is* the Messiah." And as the Messiah, Israel is the Son of God.⁵⁸³ Israel's birthright is often

⁵⁷⁹ See the monographs of Beer, Coblenz, Roy, Leimdörfer, Engert.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ps. lxxx. 5 ff.* Wellhausen-Furness.

⁵⁸¹ xxviii. 8; lxxxiv. 10; lxxix. 39, 52; cxxxii. 10, 17. See Wellhausen, *IIG.*, 211, footnote 2. In *Ps. cv. 15* he points the two nouns as singulars: "there is only one Prophet or Messiah at one time (e. g. Abraham, Isaac, Jacob)"; see his note *ad loc.*

⁵⁸² Wellhausen, *ibid.*

⁵⁸³ *Ps. ii. 7.*

conceived in terms of worldly dominion; but, at its heart, the doctrine of Israel's sonship means its prophetic vocation. The kingdom which Israel is to inherit is indeed placed in this world, but it is an ideal of which only the purified remnant of Israel shall be worthy.⁵⁶⁴

With Daniel, the Messianic doctrine comes to be involved in the eschatological system which, whether entirely out of its own means or through foreign influence, Judaism sets out to develop. The characteristic features of the Danielic system are the chronological computation of the end of the present order of things,⁵⁶⁵ the clean distinction between the everlasting Kingdom of God and the powers which it supersedes, the miraculous character of the advent of the kingdom which, however, is by no means placed in transcendent regions, but is to be realized here on earth. The Messiah, as a person, is kept in the background; in the book of Daniel, "corporate Israel" as WELLHAUSEN says,⁵⁶⁶ is the Messiah. But the kingdom which the visionary looks forward to is reserved only for a portion of the people, "those that shall be found written in the book"; it is to be a kingdom of saints. While the world-powers are introduced in the vision⁵⁶⁷ in the figure of beasts, the human form is the symbol for the kingdom of the saints. The collectivistic interpretation of the "one like unto a son of man"⁵⁶⁸ is accepted by the bulk of modern commentators.⁵⁶⁹ GUNKEL,⁵⁷⁰ though conceding the collectivistic interpretation, thinks that "son of man" is a rather remarkable figure for an earthly nation. He therefore believes that "*Dan.* vii. is not an allegory invented by the author, but allegorized material which he found ready and took over. Thus the 'son of man, coming with the clouds of heaven,' so enigmatic in the present context, probably forms an element of the tradition; for it is difficult to understand how the author, of himself, should conceive just that figure for Israel. In the original myth, 'son of man' was probably the title of the god-conqueror." GUNKEL's emphasis upon the "history of tradition"

⁵⁶⁴ *Ps.* i.

⁵⁶⁵ *Yp.*

⁵⁶⁶ *IJG.*, 305.

⁵⁶⁷ *C.* vii.

⁵⁶⁸ *vii.* 13.

⁵⁶⁹ See Driver's commentary *ad locum*; it was first proposed by Ephrem Syrus and Ibn Ezra.

⁵⁷⁰ *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 323 ff.

method is reduced to more modest proportions by WELLHAUSEN.⁵⁹¹ He by no means denies the right of searching for foreign material; but he minimizes the importance of such investigations which have only an archæological interest.⁵⁹² Upon the theory of GUNKEL, the mythological figure appears demythicized in Daniel.

The personality of the future ruler in the restored theocracy thus plays an insignificant part in the entire Old Testament (including the apocryphal writings): his advent is a mere incident in the realization of the Kingdom of God; nor does the Old Testament know of "Messiah" as an exclusive appellation of the future ruler.⁵⁹³ On the other hand, the person of the Messiah assumes a central position in the *Psalms of Solomon*, the apocalyptic-pseud-epigraphic writings, portions of the Hellenistic literature, the Targumim, the Prayer Book, Mishna, Talmud, Midrash. The material may now be found most conveniently gathered in VOLZ.⁵⁹⁴ While in the vast literature just referred to there is agreement on the exalted position of the Messiah, there is considerable divergence in the conception of the person. VOLZ enumerates the following stages: (1) the future ruler, the son of David;⁵⁹⁵ (2) the son of David, sinless and pious;⁵⁹⁶ (3) the human prince of peace;⁵⁹⁷ (4) the priest-king with supernatural endowment and supernatural gifts;⁵⁹⁸ (5) the transcendent son of David as conqueror of the world-power;⁵⁹⁹ (6) the transcendent Man as destroyer of the heathen world;⁶⁰⁰ (7) the transcendent Man as ruler of the world;⁶⁰¹ (8) the celestial Man, pre-existent and eternal, as the judge of the world and the demons, and as the author of the beatitude of the pious.⁶⁰² "The two opposite poles are constituted by the purely human, national Messianic figure and the celestial, eternal bearer of salvation. The task of the Messiah

⁵⁹¹ *Skizzen*, VI (1899), 225 ff.

⁵⁹² See Gunkel's article in the *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, 1899, 582 ff., referred to by Zimmern, *KAT.*, 391 f.

⁵⁹³ See Klausner. *השלח*, 12 (1903), 4 f.; his German publication *Die messianischen Vorstellungen d. jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten*, 1903, is not accessible to me. ⁵⁹⁴ P. 197 ff. ⁵⁹⁵ Popular and rabbinic conception.

⁵⁹⁶ *καθαρὸς ἀπὸ ἀμαρτίας*, *Ps. Sal.* xvii. 36.

⁵⁹⁷ *Baruch*, *Sibylline Oracles*.

⁵⁹⁸ *Test. Levi*.

⁵⁹⁹ *IV Ezra* ii.

⁶⁰⁰ *IV Ezra* xiii.

⁶⁰¹ *Daniel* vii.; according to Volz's interpretation.

⁶⁰² *Book of Enoch*.

differs accordingly: on the one hand he has dealings with earthly enemies, on the other with sin and the demons and as the judge of the world with the entire cosmos. Similarly, the participants in the salvation are here Israel and Palestine, there the pious; in the one case the blessings are temporal, in the other spiritual." VOLZ is quite right in remarking that, as the Messianic doctrine became involved in the eschatological systems and as the latter tended away from Jewish national interests towards universal human and individual concerns, the effect upon the Messianic doctrine was bound to proceed along three different lines; either the Messiah was pushed to the background, or he was reduced to be the inaugurator of a merely transient period of bliss, or, where the eschatological system was reluctant to let the personal human savior go, it took hold of a transcendent figure coming from an extraneous source, and thus made it possible for the Messiah to retain his place in the midst of such ideas as universal resurrection, world-judgment, transformation of the cosmos, the life everlasting and the angelic participants in the other-worldly bliss.

The "transcendent figure coming from an extraneous source" is the "son of man" demythicized in Daniel. It is there applied to Israel,⁸⁰³ VOLZ notwithstanding. In the "Similitudes" and *IV Ezra* the phrase is on the way to becoming a title of the Messiah; at all events, we have in both the figure of the pre-existent heavenly Messiah who is invested by God with almost Divine prerogatives. In this line we find the early evangelical tradition. The Christians of Palestine about the year 70 moved in the circles of Jewish Messianists, as BALDENSPERGER⁸⁰⁴ calls them. In the Christ of the Gospels we have a composite picture of the Son of David, the Son of God, the Servant of the Lord and the Son of Man.⁸⁰⁵

Did Jesus come forward with the Messianic claim and in what sense? WELLHAUSEN, who denies that Jesus wished to figure as the Jewish Messiah in the ordinary sense of the term,⁸⁰⁶ ignores the eschatological and apocalyptic elements in the Gospel narrative which

⁸⁰³ See above (p. 97). ⁸⁰⁴ *Messian-apokalypt. Hoffnungen d. Judenthums.*

⁸⁰⁵ See Volz, 214 f.; Bousset, 254, footnote 1; Baldensperger, *loc. cit.*, for a review of the controversy between Lietzmann-Wellhausen and Dalman.

⁸⁰⁶ *IJG.*, 387 f.

he regards as spurious superimpositions upon the original character. HARNACK is of a different opinion.⁶⁰⁷ The condemnation of Jesus by the high court of justice and his crucifixion are indeed unintelligible unless he made claim to the Messianic dignity: he was, in the eyes of the authorities, a "Chrestus impulsor." PFLEIDERER equally objects to the substitution "of our modern ethical, evolutionistic, philosophical concept of the 'Kingdom of God' for the eschatological, apocalyptic, catastrophic kingdom-expectations of Jesus."⁶⁰⁸ He quotes JOH. WEISS's observation that "the prediction of the coming kingdom is the rule, the proleptic sayings the exception. Not only as regards number do the sayings with reference to the future predominate, but also when the content is had in mind. The basic character of the preaching of Jesus, it cannot be ignored, is prophecy, the ground-tone hope, to be sure the hope which is certain of its aim, but nevertheless hope." "Jesus," says PFLEIDERER, "taught his disciples to pray, 'Thy kingdom come,' which certainly presupposes that it is not as yet." The seemingly "proleptic" sayings which *dilettanti* of the CHAMBERLAIN type are fond of quoting are discussed by PFLEIDERER in the sequel.⁶⁰⁹ According to PFLEIDERER there is the same vacillation in the Gospel as in Jewish eschatology between the this-worldly and the other-worldly, the earthly and celestial conceptions about the things that are to happen in the "latter days."⁶¹⁰ PFLEIDERER furthermore concedes that in the eschatological prediction of Jesus there is no reference to the triumph of the Jewish people over the heathen nations; but he continues: "Certainly a distinction, the importance of which should not be underestimated, which, however, is hardly explained correctly by the current opinion that Jesus freed the Kingdom of God which he hoped for from all connection with the Jewish people and conceived it as universal-human."⁶¹¹ The Jewish people remains in the mind of Jesus the stock of God's people that is to be. The Messianic predictions and conceptions of Jesus differed in no appreciable degree from those of his people.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁷ *Wesen d. Christentums*, 82 f. See also the lucid discussion in Pfeiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, I,² 1902, 660 ff.

⁶⁰⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 619.

⁶⁰⁹ P. 681 ff.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 626.

⁶¹¹ P. 631.

⁶¹² See Pfeiderer's quotation from Schnedermann, p. 633.

PHILO's conceptions of the Messiah are rather vague. One or two passages in his works notwithstanding, it may be said that in his system the heavenly Logos takes the place of the earthly-human future king.⁶¹³ On the other hand PHILO repeatedly speaks of Israel's vocation as the priest and prophet among the nations.⁶¹⁴

The advent of the Son of David as Israel's Anointed King⁶¹⁵ and Savior⁶¹⁶ constitutes the hope of the Jewish people after 70 no less than before. The collectivistic interpretation of biblical prophecies concerned with the Christ-people give way in the Targumim and elsewhere to individualistic exegesis: the rabbis find in the Old Testament quite as many Messianic passages as, *e. g.*, the Gospel according to Matthew. See for a few examples VOLZ, 198 f. The person of the future redeemer occupies a central place; much that is said about him in rabbinic literature finds its analogies in the older haggada which is imbedded in the apocalyptic writings. In the main, however, the person is never allowed to assume the transcendent, celestial Divine character with which the Messiah is invested, *e. g.*, in the "Similitudes." The Messiah is but God's organ of salvation; the true and real Savior is God. The rabbis clearly adhere to the "chiliastic" doctrine.⁶¹⁷ The Messianic kingdom is often secularized. "The only difference between this world and the days of the Messiah consists in the subjection to the world-powers which shall cease in the future."⁶¹⁸ Rabbi Hillel's categorical declaration, "Israel has no Messiah,"⁶¹⁹ "quoted *ad nauseam* by every opponent of Maimonides from the earliest times down to the year of grace 1888,"⁶²⁰ is really nothing but a rationalistic interpretation of the Messianic passages in (the First) Isaiah with reference to Hezekiah and, moreover, remains "an isolated opinion which contradicts all the feelings and traditions of the Jews as expressed in thousands of other passages, and especially in the liturgy."⁶²¹ RASHI's addition: "But the Holy One, blessed be He, will rule Himself, and redeem them Himself," may be an attempt to save the honor of the bold Amora; but it is a significant hint that behind the Messiah the Jew saw and felt God.⁶²²

⁶¹³ Volz, 207 f.

⁶¹⁴ Bousset, 412.

⁶¹⁵ המלך המשיח.

⁶¹⁶ גואל.

⁶¹⁷ Volz, 236.

⁶¹⁸ Brakot 34 b.

⁶¹⁹ Sanhed. 99 a.

⁶²⁰ Schechter, JQR., (1889), 124.

⁶²¹ Id.

⁶²² See Klausner, *loc. cit.*, 5.

"And especially in the liturgy."⁶²³ To be sure, the coming of the Messiah is the object of some of the oldest prayers; but the person is more or less kept in the background; the heart of the Jew as he prays is rather centered in the advent of the Kingdom of God. The ethico-religious character of the Messianic hope manifests itself in the Prayer Book more than anywhere else. "The sprout of David mayest Thou speedily cause to bud, and his horn mayest Thou exalt with Thy salvation; blessed be Thou, O Lord, who causest the horn of salvation to bud."⁶²⁴ The Palestinian recension⁶²⁵ in the corresponding place mentions the "rule of the house of David, Thy righteous Messiah" by the side of Israel, Jerusalem, Zion, the temple, as an object of restoration. In the eleventh Benediction, however, we read: "Rule Thou over us by Thyself." "May His great Name be extolled and hallowed in the world which He created according to His will, and may He cause His kingdom to come⁶²⁶ in your life and in your days and in the life of all Israel speedily and in the near future," thus runs the *Kaddish* prayer.⁶²⁷ The inserted prayer at the third Benediction on New Year and the Day of Atonement mentions the Davidic reign together with the other articles of Jewish hope, but places the idea of the Kingdom of God in the center; moreover, the ethico-religious character of the Messianic hope is clearly expressed. "Put the fear of Thee, O Lord, our God, over all Thy creatures, so that they may all fear Thee and worship Thee, and all of them be made one band to do Thy will with a perfect heart; as we know, O Lord, our God, that the dominion is Thine, strength in Thy hand, and power in Thy right hand, and Thy name to be feared above all that Thou hast created. Give honor, O Lord, to Thy people, glory to those who fear Thee, hope to those who wait for Thee; joy to Thy land, gladness to Thy city, the budding of the horn to David, Thy servant, and the preparing of a lamp for the son of Jesse, Thy anointed,

⁶²³ Schechter.

⁶²⁴ Fifteenth of the *Eighteen Benedictions*.

⁶²⁵ Dalman, *loc. cit.*, 300.

⁶²⁶ In certain recensions: "and may He cause His salvation to bud and make near His Messiah and redeem His people."

⁶²⁷ A more comprehensive eschatological programme in the so-called *Kaddish de-Rabbanan*, Dalman, 305.

speedily in our days. Then may the righteous see and be glad, and the upright exult, and the pious joy with singing; iniquity will shut its mouth, and all wickedness vanish like smoke; for Thou wilt cause the arrogant kingdom (the *Antichrist*) to pass away from the earth, and rule Thou, O Lord, by Thyself, over all Thy creatures, on the mountain of Zion, Thy glorious dwelling, and in Jerusalem, Thy holy city, as it is written in Thy Holy Words:³²⁸ 'The Lord shall reign for ever, Thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Hallelujah.' The hope in the advent of the Kingdom of God is rooted in Jewish monotheism. "He is our God, and there is no other. Therefore do we hope, O Lord, our God, speedily to behold Thy majestic power when Thou wilt remove the idols from the earth, and the worthless gods will be utterly destroyed, when Thou wilt set the world aright through the Kingdom of God,"³²⁹ and all mankind will invoke Thy name; when Thou wilt turn unto Thyself all the wicked of the earth, and all the inhabitants of the world will recognize and know that to Thee every knee must bow and every tongue swear. Before Thee, O Lord, our God, they shall bow and fall in worship, and give honor to Thy great and glorious name, and take upon themselves the yoke of Thy kingdom, and Thou wilt rule over them for ever. For Thine is the Kingdom."³³⁰ The advent of God means to the Jew the gathering of the dispersed and the restoration of the temple; but it means more: it means the Kingdom of God for a humanity united as one band to do God's will with a perfect heart.

Thus in and through Israel shall humanity be blessed.³³¹ "Thou hast chosen us" is the ever-recurring formula in the festival prayers. The Church of Israel³³² is God's beloved bride. Such was the meaning of the Song of Songs to those who retained it in the canon. "For the whole world is not to be compared in dignity to the day on which the Song was given to Israel: for all the Writings³³³ are holy, but the Song is most holy."³³⁴ In the liturgy of the Day of Atonement, penitent Israel addresses God: "We are Thy love,

³²⁸ *Ps.* cxlvi. 10. ³²⁹ מלכות שדי. ³³⁰ From the *Additional*, New Year's Day.

³³¹ *Gen.* xii. 3 and similar passages according to the later, fuller and more spiritual interpretation. ³³² כנסת ישראל. ³³³ = the third part of the canon.

³³⁴ Rabbi Akiba's well-known statement; *Iadain* iii. 5.

and Thou art our Beloved."⁶³⁵ Israel's election means Israel's vocation; the two condition the future redemption and triumph. "Bring us back in peace from the four corners of the earth, and lead us back to our land as freemen; for thou art God who worketh salvation, and Thou hast chosen us from among all the nations and tongues and brought us nigh unto Thy great name in truth, to confess Thee and to proclaim Thy unity in love. Blessed be Thou, O Lord, who, in love, hast chosen Thy people Israel."⁶³⁶

It is quite right to say with SCHECHTER⁶³⁷ that "the belief of the election of Israel by God was the cardinal dogma" of JUDAH HA-LEVI. He might have added: "and in the election of the land of Canaan." JUDAH HA-LEVI develops the thought that the pre-eminent gifts of Adam who, as the creature of an All-wise Creator, certainly was most perfect, were inherited, in each generation, by the patriarchs mentioned by name in the book of Genesis, who thus may be called the kernel of humanity, alone susceptible to the higher light. "Until the children of Jacob came, who were all of that choice character, distinguished from other human beings by peculiar Divine gifts which rendered them, as it were, a distinct species of angelic beings. They were permitted all to strive after the prophetic station, and the majority of them attained it."⁶³⁸ It is true that, at present, we, the Jews, are without head and without heart;⁶³⁹ nay, without body; mere scattered dry bones. Yet bones in which there has remained the element of vitality (and which, therefore, may yet be vitalized), which once served as organs for head, heart, mind, soul, intellect.⁶⁴⁰ "Nor will we admit that we are dead. We are rather to be likened to a sick man who is wasting away and of whose cure the physicians have despaired, who, nevertheless, looks forward to recovery by miraculous agencies."⁶⁴¹ "Israel, among the nations, is like the heart among the organs of the body; it is most

⁶³⁵ אנו רעיך ואתה דורנו.

⁶³⁶ Daily Prayer.

⁶³⁷ *JQR.*, 1 (1889), 60.

⁶³⁸ *Kuzari*, i. 103.

⁶³⁹ ii. 29.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 34. He quotes copious passages from the Bible; particularly *Isai.* lii. 13 ff., to which he gives a collectivistic interpretation. The thought of Israel's vicarious suffering for the welfare of humanity is expressed with utmost clearness by Rashi in his commentary: Israel suffers not because he is hated by God, but in order that the whole world may enjoy peace.

susceptible to disease, but also the healthiest."⁴³ Israel's sins are punished first:⁴⁴ but our sufferings serve to strengthen us in our religious life, to purify us and to remove from us all dross; in short, in order to develop in and through us the choicest part of all creation, the community of prophets and pious men, the best towards which humanity is advancing."⁴⁵ On Palestine as the chosen land of prophecy, see ii. 22 ff.

MAIMUNI follows the rabbis in divesting the character of the Messianic era of all transcendent and eschatological connections.⁴⁶ While the Messianic doctrine thus loses its miraculous elements, its ethico-religious character is preserved. "Our sages and prophets longed for the days of the Messiah, not in order that they might rule over the world, nor that they might be the masters of the Gentiles, nor that they might eat and drink and be merry, but that they might have leisure for the Tora and its wisdom and that they might be free from taskmasters and interferers in their preparation for the life everlasting. In that period there will be neither famine nor warfare, nor envy, nor competition, for prosperity will be plentiful, and the dainties as cheap as dirt; and the world will have no concern with anything except the knowledge of God; Israel will consist of great sages who will know the hidden things and conceive of the knowledge of their Creator as much as human beings are able."⁴⁷ In the uncensored *editio princeps*,⁴⁸ we find the remarkable statement that Jesus and Mohammed came to pave the way for the Messiah who is to come.⁴⁹ "The world has (through the preaching of Jesus and Mohammed) been permeated with words concerning the Messiah and with the words of the Tora and the commandments; they have been spread to the utmost isles and among many nations uncircumcised of heart." Of course, MAIMUNI expects that the Messiah will succeed in converting the Christian and Mohammedan world to the full Jewish truth of which, at present, they only possess fragments. Jesus cannot be accepted as the

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁴ *Amos* iii. 2 is quoted.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴⁶ See his excursus on *Sanhedrin* x. i; תשובה, ix. 2; מלכים, xi. f.

⁴⁷ *Isai.* xi. 9 b is quoted. — מלכים, xii. 4 f.

⁴⁸ Constantinople, 1509.

⁴⁹ וכל הרברים אלו (blank for the name of Jesus) ושל זה השמעאלי שעבר אחרינו אינן אלא לישר דרך למלך המשיח.

Messiah, for, whereas the Messiah whom the prophets announced was to redeem Israel and gather their dispersed and strengthen their religion, Jesus was the cause of great suffering and humiliation for Israel, of the abrogation of the Law and of the error of serving others beside God.

It is unnecessary to enter into the discussion of CRESCAS and his disciple ALBO as to whether disbelief in the coming of the Messiah constitutes heresy. Suffice it to say that they persist in cherishing the hope of the restoration of Israel.⁸⁸

III.

MAIMUNI's declaration in the epilogue to his Creed—the remarkable conclusion of a remarkable piece of literature—that membership in the religious body of Israel¹ rests upon assent to the Creed of Judaism in its entirety,² while the rejection of even one of its articles³ carries with it excommunication,⁴ met with opposition not only on the part of mediæval critics,⁵ but particularly, across the centuries, at the hands of MOSES MENDELSSOHN. I refer to the frequently quoted passage in his *Jerusalem* wherein it is maintained that Judaism is primarily a system of laws to be obeyed, not of articles of faith to be believed, or, in shorter phraseology, that it is essentially Deed, not Creed. He also couples to this assertion the emphatic rejection of DOHM's proposal to confer upon the Jews the right of ecclesiastical excommunication.⁶ It is a pity, but a great

⁸⁸ See 'Ikkarim, iv. 42, 45.

קאטורה בן הרה אלקואינר: הרה אלקואינר כלה: כלל ישראל: פקד יצא בן הכלל וכפר בעיקר ויתסמי מין ואפיקורוס וקוצץ בנשינות: See also תשובה, ii. 7 ff.

¹ E. g., Abraham ben David (*ad* תשובה, iii. 7) Crescas, Albo. The difference between Maimuni and these critics touches mainly the question as to what is and what is not a fundamental article of faith. Albo may reduce the number of fundamental articles to three; but those three must surely be accepted by every one calling himself a Jew.

² See *Jerusalem* (the work appeared May, 1783. Dohm's *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* was published in 1781), second part, in Brasch's edition (*Moses Mendelssohn's Schriften zur Philosophie, Aesthetik und Apologetik*, 1880), II, 407 ff. "Among all the precepts and the ordinances of the

truth nevertheless, that those who are called by Providence to usher in a new era are often themselves blind to the new conception of things which they are preparing. SPINOZA, the father of modern historical criticism as applied to the Old Testament, holds absolutely unhistorical views concerning the development and meaning of Judaism.' And so it fared with MENDELSSOHN who, as the child of a rationalistic age, had no conception of historical development, which his friend LESSING so well understood and which, thanks to HEGEL, has been engrafted upon the modern consciousness. An admirer of the shallow Deism of a few English philosophers, a believer in the demonstrability of the fundamental truths of religion, *natural religion*, afraid of the ban of an ignorant rabbinate which might interdict his favorite pursuits along the lines of philosophical speculation, he had no understanding of that which is truly elemental

Mosaic Law, there is not one which says, 'Thou shalt believe this' or 'Thou shalt not believe it,' but they all say, 'Thou shalt do,' 'Thou shalt forbear' . . . Nay, the word in the original language, which is commonly translated as 'faith,' in most cases properly means 'trust, reliance, full confidence in a promise' [quite true; but the same may be said of the Greek *πίστις* by which אמונה (אמנה) is rendered in the Greek Old Testament and in the Gospels (see art. 'Faith' in the *Encycl. Biblica*). It is furthermore true, as Dr. Kohler says (art. "Faith" in the *Jew. Encycl.*), that "only in mediæval times did the word אמונה (faith) receive the meaning of dogmatic belief"; but the thing, that is, the implicit demand of assent to certain fundamentals, existed long before the dogmatic sense of אמונה was developed]. . . . Whenever the question is of eternal self-evident truths [which, however, had received a shaking in 1781 at the hands of the "Alleszermalmer" Kant] there is nothing said of believing, but understanding and knowing [an exegetical error of which Maimuni was equally guilty; see above, p. 12 f.] . . . For this reason also, ancient Judaism has no symbolical books, no articles of faith. No one was asked, by oath, to subscribe to symbols or to articles of faith; nay, we have no conception of what is called a confession of faith; indeed, according to the spirit of genuine (Mosaic?) Judaism, we must regard such confessions as inadmissible." Schürer (II, 347, footnote 49) believes that Mendelssohn's contention is relatively correct. Bernfeld (ii. 574, footnote) reminds Mendelssohn of the fact that Judaism does not mean Mosaism only: in other words, a tendency towards dogmatic development is discernible in rabbinic Judaism. He sides, however, with Mendelssohn in denying to the State the right of punishing heretics. But what about the right of the Church, as a religious organization, to define its position and to demand from its members adherence thereto? ' See Joel's work referred to above, p. 46, footnote 229.

in religion, *faith*; nor of that which alone establishes the cohesive-ness of a religious body, a *Creed*. MAIMONI, it is true, was beguiled by the "nugæ Aristotelicæ" into rationalism; he, however, understood Judaism better than SPINOZA and MENDELSSOHN; he in truth, possessed that tact "which knows how to seize upon the constant and essential and living"; he was a theologian, while MENDELSSOHN can in no way lay claim to such honors. MENDELSSOHN'S dictum, although refuted again and again—I need only mention the criticisms of LUZZATTO and Löw⁸—proved a dangerous impediment to the logical development of the new phase of Judaism which he unconsciously prepared: conformity, outward conformity to tradition, the soulless practice of dead ceremonies, was the watchword of the men of compromise;⁹ it was furthermore a weapon in the hands of the detractors of Jews and Judaism. Fortunately, MENDELSSOHN'S *Jerusalem* contained another suggestion which, given a more logical head and a more resolute character, was destined to become fruitful. MENDELSSOHN finds that, in the Mosaic constitution, State and religion form an indissoluble union and that, from the time that the Mosaic constitution was weakened through the institution of the monarchy, there occurred necessary collisions between the duties of the subject to his native or foreign ruler and those which he owed to his God. He is furthermore conscious that such a collision exists in his own time; but he admonishes his co-religionists to fulfil, though at some inconvenience, the two sets of obligations. The Law cannot be abrogated—"unless it please the Most High Lawgiver to communicate to us His will in this matter; with as loud a voice, as publicly, and in a manner as far above all doubt and scruple as when He gave us His Law."¹⁰ It is true that the early reformers, *e. g.*, at Hamburg, sought to hide their doc-

⁸ In the works referred to above, p. 9, footnote 3.

⁹ "It has often been asked," says Schechter (*JQR.*, I (1889), 55), "what the Rabbis would have thought of a man who fulfils every commandment of the Torah, but does not believe that this Torah was given by God, or that there exists a God at all. It is indeed very difficult to answer this question with any degree of certainty. In the time of the Rabbis people were still too simple for such a diplomatic religion, and conformity in the modern sense was quite an unknown thing."

¹⁰ In Brasch's edition, 465.

trinal differences from the received Judaism by having recourse to rabbinic authority in order to justify the cutting out of the prayers for the coming of the Messiah and for the restoration of the sacrificial cult; those shifting attitudes, however, were counseled by prudence; the real, that is, doctrinal, meaning and intent of the liturgical reforms could not long remain hidden. GEIGER and HOLDHEIM appeared on the scene; of the two GEIGER (1810-1874) was the more scholarly, HOLDHEIM (1806-1860) the more practical and the more logical reformer. It is HOLDHEIM's merit to have cleanly severed the imperishable, eternal, religious part of Judaism from the perishable, national."¹¹ In the light of the better knowledge of history which we possess to-day and which is the result of the labors of a generation of Old Testament students who gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to GEIGER,¹² we may say that, ever since that memorable event in the wilderness of Midian when God revealed Himself unto Moses in the burning, yet never consumed bush, the religious element in us has tended to destroy everything hostile to its natural development. It was the force that undermined the little kingdoms of Israel and Judah; the force that welded the remnants of Judah into a new community; the force that brought the Maccabees out of their rural seclusion to expel a paganized priesthood; the force that created the Pharisaic party which brought about the extinction of the secularized Hasmonean dynasty; the force that reconstituted Judaism upon the ruins of the temple; the force which, in these latter days, calls us to resist the modern attempts at secularizing Judaism and to answer the men of little faith in the words of Ezekiel (xx. 32): That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all; in what ye say, We will be as the nations,

¹¹ See his *Autonomie der Rabbinen*, 1843; *Vorträge über die mosaische Religion*, 1844. "As for the contention that another revelation is necessary to repeal the ceremonial laws, Holdheim gave utterance to the striking thought that the spirit of the age is also a revelation of God" (Philipson, *JQR.*, 15 (1903), 481). But is not the "spirit of the age" conditioned by environment, and is it not furthermore the fruition of historical movements in the "ages" gone by?

¹² See Wellhausen, *D. Text d. Bücher Samuelis*, 1871, preface; *D. Phariseer u. d. Sadducäer*, 1874; Siegfried, *loc. cit.*, 16, footnote; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 1895, xix.

as the families of the countries." The tangle of politico-national and religious ideas in which our past is enmeshed and which is especially manifested in the doctrines of the Law and the Messiah, has at last been unraveled, the Gordian knot cut: the task has been performed by GEIGER's scholarship, HOLDHEIM's logic, SAMUEL HIRSCH's philosophic erudition, EINHORN's inspiration, above all by the foresight, undaunted courage and indomitable will of ISAAC M. WISE.

Let me quote the two last utterances of I. M. WISE. In Atlantic City, July 5, 1898, he said to you at the close of his Message: "Permit me to reiterate my old problem, to lay before the world a clear and comprehensive statement of the principles of Judaism—call them dogmas, principles, doctrines, precepts, or by any other name—but let the world know clearly and distinctly what is the substance of Judaism, what are its criteria of distinction from other religious systems . . . It seems to me that many of us preach and teach zealously and claim all excellencies for time-honored Judaism without the ability to form a clear conception of what that most revered Judaism is. If the correct definition cannot be written on one sheet of paper, let us write it on twenty or more. If one man cannot do it justice, let many men try, let a committee do it, and many more, say the whole Conference criticise it, until it meets with the approbation and consent of all. But let us no longer stand before the world as a denomination without principles, when in fact every Jew of earnest thought knows well what Judaism is, although he may not be able to define it in clear and intelligible terms. If we are teachers in Israel, as we all claim to be; if we are the only representative body of American Judaism, let us define it for him and for the world, 'And let not the congregation of Israel be like sheep that have no pastor'! As said, I am too old and too busy a man to do

"Reformed Judaism, and political Zionism are naturally antagonistic. On the other hand, Reformed Judaism, in so far as it is a religious, spiritual movement, has points of affinity with spiritual Zionism, although we are quite aware that spiritual Zionism looks forward to the political independence of Palestinian Jewry as an ultimate goal. On spiritual Zionism see art. "Ginzberg, Asher," in the *Jew. Encycl.* by Dr. Klausner; the same writer's contribution to the *Ahiasaf Calendar* for 1903/4, 353-378; above all the two volumes of essays by Ahad ha-'am, *נ"ל פרשת דרכים*, Berlin, 1903 and 1904.

that which I want you to do, who are young and strong and have many years of life yet before you." ¹⁴

And in his very last utterance to you, in Cincinnati, March 13, 1899, he said: "Permit me . . . to excuse my tardiness. With two of my worthy colleagues I accepted the task to formulate the principles of Judaism, and to report to this venerable body in July next. I could not begin the work before I had ascertained, in the main at least, on what principles this Conference had already agreed. There were given out three years ago two subjects . . . The first was the Messianic doctrine of Judaism, on which, as you well know, the whole body of doctrine depends, especially as to the dividing line not only between Judaism and Christianity, but also between conservative and progressive Judaism. But no report on this subject has reached this body . . . The second subject . . . is 'The Theology of the Union Prayer Book' . . . But this paper also was not before us . . . So much for my own excuse." ¹⁵

Brethren, reformation, theologically speaking, means re-formulation of doctrine. Reformation, although an historical fiction, has this much truth in it that it testifies to our conception of a kernel of genuine religious truth which we perceive in the period immediately preceding us to be overlaid by much that is foreign to it, foreign. Not in an historical, but in a logical sense. In other words, re-formulation means truer, more adequate formulation. I take it that as Reformed Jews we are determined that we do not mean to be a community distinct and separate and holding aloof from our neighbors in any but religious matters; in positive language, that we consider ourselves to be a religious body in which the true intent of the founders of Judaism, realized in the past imperfectly and less adequately, expresses itself now (I am referring to the Church-idea)

¹⁴ *YB.*, 1898, 16. On p. 56: "Drs. I. M. Wise, M. Mielziner and G. Deutsch were named a committee to formulate the principles of Judaism, to report at the next Conference."

¹⁵ *YB.*, 1899, 26 f. At the Buffalo meeting, July 6, 1900, "Dr. Deutsch was called to read the report of [the committee on] principles of Judaism. On motion of M. H. Harris the reading of the report was dispensed with and the paper was ordered printed in the *Year Book*" (*YB.*, 1900, 82). The paper, signed by G. Deutsch and M. Mielziner, is found *ibid.*, 148-164. As the conclusion proves, the paper lays no claim to finality.

most perfectly and most adequately. In this fundamental assertion lies the theological aspect of Reformed Judaism. And, without presumption, in line with my foregoing formulation of the doctrines of the Judaism that preceded our reformation, I may be permitted to present what I consider to be the CREED OF REFORMED JUDAISM, that sum of dogmas—I prefer the Greek word to the Latin “principles”—which in the opinion of Reformed Jews constitutes the very core and kernel of Judaism, *das Wesen des Judentums*:

A. THEOLOGY (AND COSMOLOGY):

I BELIEVE IN GOD, THE ONE AND HOLY, THE CREATOR AND SUSTAINER OF THE WORLD.

While in appearance our theology (in the narrower sense) is identical with that of our fathers, it needs restatement, re-formulation, in the light of modern thought. Dr. PHILIPSON, in his paper on *Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism* referred to above,¹⁶ has a few stray notes. Mr. C. G. MONTEFIORE devotes the second chapter of his thoughtful book on *Liberal Judaism*¹⁷ to this subject. But much remains to be done. The modern Jew will not hesitate to accept Principal FAIRBAIRN's conception of creation as a continuous process” (“who daily renewest the works of creation,”¹⁸ in a new and truer sense). I append the following passage from his latest book:¹⁹ “God, then, as the Perfect Reason and Almighty Will, through whose action and by whose energy Nature was and is, cannot be conceived as otiose or inactive; omnipresence is not an occasional, but a permanent attribute of Deity, omnipotence is not incidental or optional. He must be everywhere, and wherever He is He must be operative. Omniscience simply means the omnipresent intellect in exercise. God is the thought that is diffused through all space and active in all time. And this involves the consequence that the form under which His relation to Nature ought to be conceived is immanence, though not as excluding transcendence; for the very reason that requires the interpretative intellect to be transcendent, requires also the causal Intelligence to be the same. But it is the

¹⁶ P. 3, footnote 20.

¹⁷ 1903.

¹⁸ UPB., i. 58. See above, p. 27.

¹⁹ *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 1902, 58 f.

active intercourse of these two that constitutes Nature as an intelligible whole. For the Divine immanence in Nature is inseparable from the same immanence in mind. There is, so to speak, a constant process of intercommunication, God with man and man with God. And this means that His beneficence becomes a universal and continuous activity. We could not imagine a Being with any grace of character creating for any motives save such as could be described as good, still less could we conceive Him proving unstable and in the course of His providence changing to another and lower will than He had in the beginning. If He were moved to create, it could only be that He might through creation find a richer beatitude; and if the creature was needful to His blessedness, He must be still more needful to its. But if this be so, it can only mean that His creative action never ceases; the sabbath of the Creator is found in an activity which is ever beneficent and never tires. Creation, then, is here conceived not as a finished but as a continuous process." MAIMUNI'S Deity, of whom we may only know what He is not,²⁰ will not satisfy the longing of a truly religious soul; we must re-enthroned the Living God of biblical and talmudical and liturgical Judaism and reassert our belief in a Divine Personality. We should also oppose the old doctrine of nescience in its modern forms by a sound theory of knowledge. It may be true that HERBERT SPENCER has had them that preach him in the synagogue sabbath after sabbath: but it has to be shown yet that such preaching is consonant with Judaism. For the meaning of "Holy" see above p. 19.

B. ANTHROPOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT MAN POSSESSES A DIVINE POWER WHEREWITH HE MAY SUBDUE HIS EVIL IMPULSES AND PASSIONS, STRIVE TO COME NEARER AND NEARER THE PERFECTION OF GOD, AND COMMUNE WITH HIM IN PRAYER;

"Man is not sinful from birth, although liable to sin; he has within himself the power to overcome sin."²¹ "It is the Divine in man which makes him capable of goodness and capable of sin. The consciousness of the contrast between what he is and what he

²⁰ Theory of negative attributes, above, p. 14.

²¹ *Tendencies of Thought*, 613.

ought to be is only possible because of that element in him which links him with God, and which the Divine spirit without can influence and quicken. We may not wholly identify this divine element with reason, but we may say that it is not conceivably present except in a rational being. For the consciousness of goodness and sin is inseparable both from reason and from the Divine element alike; the two are only separable in thought . . . For God, Who is Himself the supreme ideal of absolute righteousness and love, has willed that man, within his lower and human limits, should also be righteous. The belief that God has this desire, and that man, with God's help, is capable of more or less successfully fulfilling it, constitutes a chief feature of the particular religion which I am seeking to explain."²

THAT SELECT INDIVIDUALS ARE, FROM TIME TO TIME, CALLED BY GOD AS PROPHETS AND CHARGED WITH THE MISSION OF DECLARING HIS WILL UNTO MEN;

"The meaning of 'inspiration' has greatly changed and widened, but it would be erroneous to say that we no longer believe in it. It has been already stated that the essence of religion consists in the influence of the Divine Spirit without upon the human spirit within. We can open the windows of the soul to the divine light, and the saying of the Psalmist is true: 'Within thee is the fountain of light; through thy light do we see light.' Two things are predicable of this communion of man with God and of this influence of God upon man. They take place according to law, they vary in clearness and power. Moreover, the Divine will and the Divine law are necessarily the same. They are different expressions for the same thing. Hence there is no incongruity in saying, for example, that Isaiah was specially inspired by the Divine will . . . We may express this by saying that Isaiah had a great insight into religious and moral truth, and that he expressed this remarkable insight in a remarkable manner . . . But it does not, therefore, follow, that all he said was either true or new . . . God does not allow man, whether in science or religion, to learn at any one period

² *Liberal Judaism*, 32 f.

all that may be known. He holds back reserves of truth for advancing humanity . . . We must surely believe that the Hebrew prophets were of God, and that fundamental elements of their teaching are the clear expression of his will . . . We do not say: All religious truth is contained in the Hebrew Bible; whatever is outside it is either not new or not true."²² We agree with WELL-HAUSEN²³ that he who calls Empedocles and Aeschylus and particularly Socrates and Plato heathens no longer associates a definite meaning with the word. We believe that, from the day that man knew himself as man, he also knew himself, and was, in communication with God. We believe in a general revelation; but, at the same time, we maintain that God revealed Himself more clearly and more truly to our forefathers.

THAT MAN IS SUBJECT TO GOD'S LAW AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE
SEARCHER OF THE HUMAN HEART AND THE RIGHTEOUS JUDGE FOR
ALL HIS THOUGHTS AND DEEDS;

Reformed Judaism has reverted to the prophetic conception of the Law. *Micah* vi. 8. "Law" does not adequately render the Hebrew "Tora." "Teaching" would be more suitable. The Tora, at any given period, is the sum and substance of the people's spiritual aspirations, of its culture. In the sense just indicated, all of our literature, biblical and post-biblical, legal and haggadic, is our Tora. It is authoritative for us as a whole, in its larger or total meaning; not this or that chapter, this or that paragraph. I submit myself to the influence of that literature from beginning to end; I then feel that I am permeated with the Jewish spirit. In that spirit I find my moral anchorage, the Law of my conduct. The mere verbal adherence to a detached "commandment" may very often fail in Judaizing my conception of life. *Deut.* xiv. 3-21 and *Levit.* xi., as little as the whole of *Hilkot Trefot*, will make our life Jewish. But we recognize the one great commandment: Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with thy whole heart and soul and power and be holy as He is holy. We believe that in this commandment we have the whole Law. We furthermore value the conception of moral discipline which indeed gives our religion its pecu-

²² *Liberal Judaism*, 89-91.

²³ *IJG.*, 226.

liar coloring. We reassert the centrally Jewish doctrine of human responsibility or "free-will."²⁵ The belief in "free-will" does not preclude our praying for Divine assistance. "We, therefore, beseech Thee, O our God, to help us banish from our hearts all pride and vain-glory, all confidence in worldly possessions, all self-sufficient leaning on our own reasoning. Fill us with the spirit of meekness and the grace of modesty, that we may become wise in Thy fear. May we never forget that all we have and prize is but lent to us, a trust for which we must render an account to Thee. We beseech Thee, O heavenly Father, to put into our hearts the love and fear of Thee, that we may consecrate our lives to Thy service and glorify Thy name in the eyes of all peoples."²⁶ Our position, like that of the Pharisees, remains a mediating one. It is a position at once ethical and religious.

THAT HE WHO CONFESSES HIS SINS AND TURNS FROM HIS EVIL WAYS AND TRULY REPENTS IS LOVINGLY FORGIVEN BY HIS FATHER IN HEAVEN.

I need not point out the importance of this portion of our anthropological doctrine. Our holiest day, the Day of Atonement, rests on it. It is not true, as has been said, that Judaism is wholly or principally a religion of justice, and not a religion of mercy or love; that it is communal, dealing "not so much with the salvation of the individual soul as with the problem of the good of the community." It is not true of the past; both Amos and Hosea stood at the cradle of Judaism. It must not be true of the future. To emphasize one or the other side exclusively must lead to one-sidedness and danger. *Summum ius summa iniustitia*. A pious walk with God is well nigh impossible without the hope of Divine forgiveness.²⁷ God the Righteous Judge and God the Loving Father must forever remain the two poles between which the pious soul will quiver. Fear and hope, both together, will make a good man; neither the one nor the other alone.

²⁵ See Lazarus, *loc. cit.*, c. 2; *Liberal Judaism*, passim; Fairbairn, *loc. cit.*, 75 f.

²⁶ *UPB.*, i. 57.

²⁷ *Ps.* cxxx. 3; *UPB.*, ii. 90.

C. PSYCHOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT THE PIOUS WHO OBEY GOD'S LAW AND DO HIS WILL WITH A PERFECT HEART AND THOSE WHO TRULY REPENT, SHARE, AS IMMORTAL SOULS, IN THE EVERLASTING LIFE OF GOD.

"For the dust only returns to the dust; the spirit is implanted by Thee, and returns to Thee, its everliving source. And they who walk here in the light of Thy countenance and sow good seed though in weeping, go home to Thee laden with sheaves. They who sow but wind may tremble at the whirlwind which they must reap. He who toils but for vain things and boasts of his might, must dread the grave."²⁹ It may be true that MAIMUNI'S Heaven is aristocratic; but then it is perhaps the only Heaven worth going to. The Universalistic doctrine of general salvation is, I fear, not recognized even in the Union Prayer Book. This, however, ought to be said: no man is altogether wicked, just as little as the elect will uniformly maintain high spirituality. There are hills and depressions in the topography of the spirit as much as on the earth. We must not, however, be blind to differences in spirituality. There is a graded scale all the way from the highest to the lowest; and well may we remind ourselves of what the rabbis say about the separate dwellings which the righteous will occupy in Heaven, "everyone according to his dignity."³⁰ What we mean by our formulation in the text is that death has no sting for those who fasten their mind upon the things eternal. Immortality is realized through a life in God. God alone is, by virtue of His Divine nature, immortal; for man to be immortal, he must live in God. The little child that lisps an Amen and the saint that muses on the Divine perfection—both live in God, the one as far as it is possible for a child, the other as far as he can go as a man, a full man, but a man nevertheless. The Pittsburgh Platform³¹ was somewhat belated in declaring against Hell as an abode for everlasting punishment."

²⁹ UPB., ii. 296.

³⁰ B. *msi'a* 83 b and parallels.

³¹ See *JQR.*, 10 (1898), 85.

³² See Maimuni's declaration to the same effect. above. p. 81.

D. ECCLESIOLOGY:

I BELIEVE THAT ISRAEL WAS CHOSEN BY GOD AS HIS ANOINTED SERVANT TO PROCLAIM UNTO THE FAMILIES OF MANKIND HIS TRUTH AND, THOUGH DESPISED AND REJECTED OF MEN, TO CONTINUE AS HIS WITNESS UNTIL THERE COME IN AND THROUGH HIM THE KINGDOM OF PEACE AND MORAL PERFECTION AND THE FULNESS OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD, THE TRUE COMMUNITY OF THE CHILDREN OF THE LIVING GOD.

Reformed Judaism expects "neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state."²² "We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men."²³ Not very felicitously expressed. The millennium is not quite so near. But it is true that we welcome every step that brings us nearer unto the ideal. "Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth."²⁴ We recognize MAIMONI'S spirit.²⁵ It may be said that Reformed Judaism has reverted to the collectivistic conception of the Messiah. Israel is the Messiah. "Still is Israel imbued with the prophetic spirit that renders it a servant unto all humanity. Still we uplift Thy banner, awaiting the blessed time when the Almighty, who revealed Himself to our fathers on Sinai, shall be proclaimed God by all the children of men. We pray that the time may come when strife shall no more set nation against nation; when every one shall sit in peace beneath his own vine and fig tree and none shall disturb them; when swords shall be beaten into plow-shares, and spears into pruning hooks; when nation shall not lift sword against nation, and they shall learn war no more. Then shall Thy kingdom be established on earth and upon all the nations shall rest the spirit of the Lord, even the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and fear of the Lord. God will reign forever, thy God, O Zion, from generation to generation. Hallelu-

²² Pittsburgh Platform, *loc. cit.*, 84. ²³ *Ibid.* ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 85. ²⁵ Above, p. 105.

jah.”²⁶ The dispersion is interpreted as divinely ordained with a view to Israel’s prophetic mission. “Nay, it dawned upon them, like the rising of a new day, that their separation from their ancestral homes and their dispersion over the earth, far from being a punishment only, was in the hand of God a means of blessing to all mankind. Israel is to witness to the One True and Living God and endeavor to unite all peoples into a covenant of peace, so that the word should be fulfilled in him: ‘In his stripes the world’ was healed, and in his bruises men found new strength, and through his chains the prisoners of error were set free.’ Not as an accursed sinner, but as a teacher of Thy truth did Israel wander through the centuries, to kindle everywhere the flame of a pure faith and lead the nations to a reconciliation with Thee, their common Father.”²⁷

“This twilight hour reminds us also of the even-tide when, according to Thy gracious promise, Thy light will arise over all the children of men, and Israel’s spiritual descendants will be as numerous as the stars in heaven. Endow us, our Guardian, with strength and patience for our holy mission. Grant that all the children of Thy people may recognize the goal of our changeful career, so that they may exemplify by their zeal and love for mankind the truth of Israel’s watchword: One humanity on earth, even as there is but One God in heaven. Enlighten all that call themselves by Thy name with the knowledge that the sanctuary of wood and stone which erst crowned Zion’s hill, was but a gate, through which Israel should step out into the world to reconcile all mankind unto Thee! Thou alone knowest when this work of atonement shall be completed; when the day shall dawn in which the light of Thy truth, brighter than that of the visible sun, shall encircle the whole earth. But, surely, that great day of universal reconciliation, so fervently prayed for, shall come, as surely as none of Thy words return empty, unless they have done that for which Thou didst send them. Then joy shall thrill all hearts, and from one end of the earth to the other shall echo the gladsome cry: Hear, O Israel, hear, all mankind, the Eternal, our God, the Eternal is One! Then myriads will make pilgrimage to Thy house, which shall be called a house of

²⁶ *UPB.*, ii. 234 f.; after Einhorn.

²⁷ *UPB.*, ii. 238 f.; after Einhorn.

prayer for all nations^a and from their lips shall sound in spiritual joy: Lord, open for us the gates of Thy truth, now when the gates of the old world^a are closing. Lift up your heads, O ye gates, and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors, for the King of glory shall come. Who is the King of glory? The Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord of hosts, the Prince of peace.”^a In view of the fact pointed out above^a that Judaism lays more stress upon the future redemption than upon the person who is to carry out the work of redemption, the substitution of the abstract “redemption” for “redeemer” in the new rituals^a was after all no marked deviation from the older doctrine. But, upon a little reflection, we may see that we cannot dispense with a personal redeemer as the organ of God’s scheme of salvation. Surely, the Divine work cannot be accomplished through the agency of an inert people unless the latter be vitalized by its leaders whom God appoints from time to time. The error lies in the expectation of the advent of a single Messiah. The Divine work of salvation must be done by a succession of Messiahs, each paving the way for his successor. All Messiahs are necessarily Pseudo-Messiahs, false Christs. For the real will always fall short of the ideal. Thus Reformed Judaism may with impunity rehabilitate the personal Messiah, the one who *is always to come*. In the aggregate, again, it is Israel that does the Messianic work of redemption. Upon this doctrine, as upon a rock, must the Jewish Church be built, proud of her past, looking forward to grander achievements in the future. She must know her prerogatives, but also her duties. She must become a missionary in all truth, by example and by teaching. She must conquer the world for the Kingdom of God.

This, brethren, is something more than a “colorless Theism.” And it would certainly be foolish to excise Theism, *absolute monotheism*, from our Creed because it may perchance be a view held also by others. We, Reformed Jews, must dare to penetrate into the very heart of our religion, enter the sanctuary of God and think

^a This clause interferes with the spiritual meaning of “house” demanded by the context.

^a = the old order of things.

^a UPB., ii. 332 f.; adapted from Einhorn’s Prayer Book.

^a P. 101 f.

^a UPB., i. 24.

the thought of Judaism to its very end. We insist⁴ that he only is a Jew who is a Jew by conviction, who sympathizes with the religious content of Judaism and is willing to shape his life accordingly; we have, or should have, no patience with the race Jew, our D'ISRAELIS, who become proud of their ancestry when once they have deserted us. We do not want a Judaism to be made the subject of historical exhibitions, but one to be professed and lived. If you starve the religious sense, your children's children will hunger and thirst for the Living God and, not finding Him among you, be compelled to seek Him elsewhere; they will take upon themselves many beliefs which are foreign to our conception of God and the spiritual life in preference to famishing spiritually. I should also have you, preachers of the Jewish faith, occasionally, but particularly on the two days so eminently fit for earnest thought (only a traitor to the cause of Judaism will tamper with their serious character), take for the subject of your sermons a portion of our Creed; a doctrinal sermon will appeal to the male audiences when some day, as I hope, you get them, week after week, perhaps more than all your discourses on the Assyrians and Babylonians or upon the geography of the Holy Land. You are fond of appealing to the Jewish heart. If you mean by it an organ of 50 per cent Hittite, 5 per cent Semite, 10 per cent Amorite and 35 per cent bastard origin," you are Crypto-Zionists, but not Reformed Jews. I should rather have you speak to the Jewish soul shaped through centuries by the men whom God in his love has sent unto us, by MOSES, ELIJAH, AMOS, HOSEA, MICAH, ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, the DEUTERONOMISTS, EZEKIEL, the WRITER OF THE LAW OF HOLINESS, DEUTERO-ISAIAH, the AUTHORS OF JONAH AND MALACHI, the PSALMISTS, HILLEL, JOHANAN BEN ZAKKAI, the RABBIS and GAONS, SAADIA, SOLOMON IBN GABIROL, JUDAH HA-LEVI, ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, MUSA MAIMUNI, RASHI and the TOSAFISTS, JOSEPH KARO, MOSES ISSERLES, ELIJAH OF VILNA, MOSES MENDELSSOHN, NAHMAN KROCHMAL, LEOPOLD ZUNZ, SAMUEL DAVID LUZZATTO, ABRAHAM GEIGER, LEOPOLD LÖW, SAMUEL HOLDHEIM, DAVID EINHORN, SAMUEL HIRSCH, ISAAC M. WISE. And truly "catholic" Israel will not ignore the Alexandrians with

⁴ See the papers of Hirsch and Philipson quoted above, p. 3, footnote 20.

⁵ Chamberlain, *loc. cit.*, 372.

their PHILO: "the *historical* Gospel with the *historical* JESUS;" the mystics with ISAAC LURIA (1533-1572) and ISRAEL BAAL SHEM (eighteenth century) "—side-currents, it is true, but not without, in one way or another, influencing and thus in part forming the Jewish soul.

Brothers, without a CREED we shall ever be vulnerable. Indeed, our ~~careless~~ status pleases our enemies; they can then go on holding up to scorn this and that belief, this and that doctrine of the transformation or re-formulation of which, in post-biblical times, much more in our own time, they stubbornly refuse to take notice. And just as vulnerable we shall be, if we fail in creating the proper ecclesiastical organization. SCHREINER " tells us that the aim of Prussian legislation has been to destroy Judaism by degrees " by making the bonds connecting one congregation with another as loose as possible. This country affords us an opportunity which, it may truly be said, Judaism nowhere and at no time possessed, for a true and real ecclesiastical organization. Woe unto American Israel when the day comes and we are found an unorganized bundle of atoms; and woe unto us if we organize on any but ecclesiastical, that is, religious lines! We must unify our societies and place them under the roof of the synagogue. Whatever is inimical or even indifferent to the synagogue must be wiped out of existence. Let us have an organization which will deal with problems while it is in our power to grapple with them and before it is too late. We are

" Philo was re-discovered for the Jews by Azariah de' Rossi (1511-1578); he devotes to the Alexandrian philosopher chapters iii-vi of his work *מאור עינים*. Next came N. Krochmal in the twelfth chapter of his *כורה נביכי הזמן*. There is no question that Philo exercised an imperceptible influence on the further development of Jewish thought. There are certainly traces of his influence in Ibn Ezra (Bernfeld, i. 70 f.).

" *Mark the adjectives.* There is very little in the *historical* Gospel—that is, the critically ascertainable, actual preaching of Jesus—to which a Jew will take exception. It is different with the canonical Gospels and the dogmatic Christ. If, as is said by Christian theologians (Wellhausen, Harnack), St. Paul transformed the Master's Gospel of the Kingdom into one of the Master, then it is there that Judaism and Christianity go apart.

" to whose impulses is due the rise of the pietistic sects of the Hasidim (see *Jew. Encycl.*, s. v.), and the spiritualization of intellectual rabbinism.

" *Loc. cit.*, 163 f.

" *das Judentum allmählich totzuschlagen.*

not ready for an episcopate; our big men lack the culture and the generosity and the piety, and our little men would be popelings in their own little domains. We need an organization which will leave the congregations and their leaders autonomous; for local conditions naturally differ and can be dealt with best by local methods and local wisdom. But let that organization be charged with handling matters that concern us all; with creating national movements; with maintaining a *Publication Bureau* for the turning out of works which, while strictly scientific, shall set forth in language intelligible to the educated layman and in a dignified tone the truth about Judaism, especially in its relation to other religions; with instituting lectureships on similar subjects under the auspices of a *Jewish Truth Society*; with calling into life *societies for spiritual culture*, and for similar activities. When we shall have that organization, we shall also have organized thought; we shall husband our talent and not scatter it in all directions; we shall have a Jewish philosophy and a Jewish theology in all truth. It is high time that we cease to be footnotes to the texts furnished by the world: let us have a world of our own, a spiritual world, a world of thought. Let us have a SYNOD as the key-stone of our CHURCH."

Mr. President: As a member of this body, I move

1. That this Conference, before it adjourns, appoint a committee charged with preparing the Creed of Reformed Judaism, which work shall consist of a brief text and an exhaustive historical and theological commentary in language accessible to the educated classes, using, if it so choose, the draft herein presented as a basis.
2. That the Committee report in manuscript to the Conference meeting next year.
3. That the Conference, after adopting the work prepared by the

" "The Synod," says Dr. Enelow (*YB.*, 1900, 132. The historical errors of the paper were pointed out by Dr. Deutsch in session: see *ibid.*, 59), "remained to his last day one of Wise's ideals, of which, however, portions have been realized owing to his indefatigable energy. Both the rabbinical and the congregational unions are manifestations of the synodal idea—they are two fragments of the ideal which Wise never ceased to nourish and which possibly yet awaits realization: the continuance of [the] Jewish religion in the New World through the medium of . . . the Synod."

committee, or a similar work, lay the Creed before a Synod to be convened in 1905, for confirmation.

4. That the Synod then to be convened consist of one-fifth of the members of this body duly elected in the Conference, and of an equal number of laymen elected by the *Union of American Hebrew Congregations*, and that two-thirds of the membership of the Synod constitute a majority of votes.

5. That the presiding officer of the Synod be a member of the Conference.

6. That the Synod promulgate the Creed presented to it by the Conference as the CREED OF THE REFORMED JEWISH CHURCH OF AMERICA, and that the Synod act upon other matters only when presented to it by the Conference, but not of its own initiative.

7. That the Synod, constituted and elected in the same manner as for its first convention, meet hereafter every five years and act on matters laid before it by the Conference, and that the quinquennial conventions be particularly charged with the revision of the Creed if such revision is recommended by the Conference.

8. That the Conference have a standing committee on Creed and Doctrinal Matters.

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